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CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE KANDREGULA FAMILY IN THE XVIII CENTURY.

(Continued from page 71 above)

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.,

In the last article, we studied how several efforts were made by the Company to rent the *five* circars and how the mission of Jogi Pantulu was finally crowned with success.

In this article, fifteen Letters (from Letter No. 10 to Letter No. 24, both inclusive) are published covering the period from 1767 to 1785.

Jogi Pantulu, by virtue of his faithful services was rewarded by Nizam with the titles of Rajah and Bahadur and with the offices of Sur Sheristadar and Muzumdar in the circar of Rajahmundry and further authorised to receive the fees belonging to the said employments from the several Zamindars of the District.

The family history gives the following account:—

"At that time, on Jogee Pantulu's laying before the Nizam his claims to succeed to the offices of Majumdar and Sur Sheristadar of Rajahmundry Circar, formerly enjoyed by his maternal grandfathers, the Nizam was pleased to restore him, as well as his 2 brothers to the said offices by means of a fresh Sanud, and conferred on Jogee Puntulu the titles of "*Rajah* and *Bahadur*.".[1]

1 Vide Sanud dated 20 of the great Shaban 1172 Hejery.

The above grant was confirmed by the Honorable Company by means of a Sunnud[2] of the President and Council of Fort Saint George.

By virtue of the Sunnad of the Nizam, and the orders of the Government of Fort Saint George, the several zamindars in the Northern Circars restored to Jogee Puntulu all the Roosooms, Savarans, Rents, Villages, Cocoanut and Beetlenut gardens, Inams &c. appertaining to the above offices in their respective Estates; and yielding an annual income of about 30,000 Pagodas. In addition to the above, Jogee Puntulu used to rent some villages, and also in some years the Divi Purganah, from the Government, who reposed in him especial trust and confidence in consideration of the allegiance and steady attachment, which he manifested to the Honorable East India Company.[3]

About the year 1772, Jogee Puntulu died. His younger brother Venkatrayulu succeeded him in the office of Majumdar and Sur Sheristadar in the year 1773, and continued in it till 1778,[4] when the offices in question were abolished[5] as useless to Government, and the lands and fees, villages &c. pertaining thereto were returned to the respective zamindars. In compensation for the loss thereby sustained, an allowance of 10,000 Pagodas a year was ordered to be paid to Venkatrayulu from the Company's treasury.

Venkatrayulu subsequently brought to the notice of the Madras Government the injustice done to him in abolishing the offices of Majoomdar and Sur Sherestadar. The Government taking into consideration the long and faithful services of his family to the Company re-instated him in his former stations of Sur Sheristadar and Majumdar, and granted him the necessary Sannud and Cowle in the year 1781.[6]

The Chief and Council at Masulipatam, in obedience to the orders contained in para 2 of the order of Government, tried their best to Induce the zamindars to restore to Venkatrayulu the several imoluments of his but this does not appear to have been effected, owing to the refusal of some of them. Hence Venkatrayulu received 10,000 Pagodas per annum till he died.

2 Dated 5 May 1767. Vide Circular to Zamindars 25th September 1769.

3 Vide Cowle granted by Government to Jogee Puntulu 20 February 1707.

4 Letter from the Government of Madras to the Chief and Council in Masulipatam dated 23 June 1773.

5 Letter from Govt. to Chief and Council. dated 11 December 1778.

6 Letter from the Government of Madras to the Chief and Council at Masulipatam 19 February 1781.

After the death of Venkatrayulu the above allowance of 10,000 Pagodas a year was paid for several years to his nephew Jugguppa Puntulu, who taking advantage of the minority of his uncle's (Venkatrayulu's) sons, Gopalarao &c., appropriated the allowance to himself, usurped the rights, and dissipated the large property of the family, and by his extravagance and misconduct fell into deep arrears of rent of the Divi Purgannah to the Company, who were consequently induced to stop the Pension.

A brief account of fhe letters printed below is given hereunder.

No. 10 dated 20th of the great Shaban 1178 of the Hejira is a translation of a *Sanad* under the seal and signature of Nabob Asuf Khan Nizam ul Mulk. It is addressed to the several Naibs, Desamukhs Zamindars etc. of the Rajahmundry Circar. It gives the geneology of Kandregula and Jillella families and orders the several officials of the Circar to put them in possession of the account of the *zamabandi* and the revenue of the said Circar.

No, 11 dated 1180 Hejira, is a translation of Cowle granted under the seal and signature of the Nabob Kutbuddin Hussain Ali Khan to Jogi Jagannadham, Muzumdar and Sar Sharistadar of the Circar of Rajahmundry. It gives certain Paraganas to be enjoyed by the family as *mirasi* lands and also ***Rusums*** or fees at 1% on the *zamabandi.*

Letter No. 12 dated 5—5—1767, informs how the titles and offices granted by Asuf Jah Nizam ul Mulk to Rajah Strinivasa Jogu Pandit Bahadur came to be confirmed by the Governor and Council of Fort St. George subject to Jogi Pantulu's paying due obedience to the Company's Authority.

Letter No. 13 dated 7—8—1767, from the Chief of Masulipatam, informs how Jogi Pantulu was sent to Chicacole to procure from Seetarama Raju and Raghu Raju the rents due from them, and to let out the Chicacole Circar including Vizianagaram Zamindary for 10 lacs or at least 9 lacs to Raghuraju or some other person.

Letter No. 14 dated 25—9—1769, is addressed to the Zamindars in the Circar of Rajamundry who granted already some villages in their own jurisdictions for small rents to Jogi Pantulu.

Letter No. 15 dated 1—12—1769, is also addressed to the Zamindars who should respect Jogi Pantulu's offices and give him necessary help in his employment.

Letter No. 16 dated 20—2—1770, is a Cowle granted by the Hon'ble Josias Du Pre' Esq., Governor, to Jogi Pantulu, Mazumdar of

Rajamundry Circar regarding the villages of Casenacurru etc. for an annual rent of 5,180 Madras Pagodas.

No. 17 dated 12—4—1771, is also a Cowle granted by the Hon'ble Josias Du Pre' Esq., to Rajah C. S. Jagannadha Bahadur. The villages of Casenakurru etc. were given on cowle for 3 years from 1770—1773 to Jogi Pantulu in consideration of the allegiance and steady attachment which he manifested to the Hon'ble E. I. Co.

No. 18 dated 13—7—1773 is a letter to Venkatrao, brother of Jogi JaganadhaRao Bahadur who died in 1772, conferring on him the offices of Muzumdar and Sur Saristhadar, and permitting him to receive all the fees and advantages belonging thereto.

No. 19 dated 3—5—1774, is again a Cowle granted by Alexander Wynch, Governor of Fort St. George to Rajah Venkatarow Bahadur, Muzundar and Sur Saristhadar of Rajahmundry Circar for the villages of Casenacurru etc. extending its lease for 3 years, i.e., till 1776.

No. 20 dated 24—10—1774, is a circular Letter addressed to the Zamindars in the Rajamundry Circar stating the facts contained in No. 18 and requiring them to respect his offices as before and give him necessary help in his employments.

No. 21 dated 17—11—1780, is a Cowle granted by the Chief and Council of Masulipatam and its dependencies to Venkatrayulu regarding Antarvedi for 10 years, i.e., from 1780 to 1790 at an annual rent of 910 Pagodas. This letter mentions three important rights viz,, (1) to collect all revenues arising from the district according to custom "protecting the inhabitants in their rights and allowing unto everyone in like manner as has been before allowed" (2) to obtain equitable allowance for all losses due to Mahrattas and other enemies (3) to keep proper Sibbandy to keep peace and order and prevent the depredations of Polygars.

No. 22 belongs to 1781 and it is addressed to Rajah Venkatrao. It states that the President and Council of Fort St. George were pleased to abolish the offices of Muzumdar and Sar Saristadar on 20—11—1778 but owing to the hardships caused by the step, the Governor and Council again reinstated Venkatrayulu in the said offices in 1781 and empowered him to collect all fees and advantages belonging threto.

No. 23 dated 14—2—1781 is addressed to the Zamindars and Mirasidars in the Circar of Rajamundry asking them to show the necessary respect and give necessary help to Raja Venkatrao who was reinstated in the offices of Sar Sheristadar and Muzumdar of the Rajahmundry Circar

with all the villages, inams and fees formerly granted to him in consideration of his long and faithful services.

No. 24 dated 23—2—1785 is a Sanad granted by the Rt. Hon'ble George Lord Macartney, President and Governor of Fort St. George, to Raja Kandregula Jagannadharao Ramarsu Bahadur confirming him in the succession to his late uncles' powers and offices, titles and distinctions.

LETTER NO. 10.

Translation *of a Sunnad* under the Seal and Signature of the *Nabob Ausuf Qaugn Nizam ul Mulk Nizam ud Dowlah Meer Nizam Ali Khan Bahadar Phitee Jung Sepah Salahar Eyaur Vauphaudor.*

To the *Naibs* present and future, the *Dasamokus, Dasapaundies, Muzumdars, Zamindars, Chodhars, Ryots,* and *Coolkurnees,* of the *Rujahmundry Cirkar,* depending on the *Soubah of Hyderabad:* it is written at this time *Kandrigula Ramajee, Jogee Pundat,* and *Vencata Row,* Grand Children of the younger *Jillilah Jogee Pundat* have represented that the inheritance of the *Muzumdarship* of the said *Cirkar* belonged by the female line to *Jillallah Jogee Pundut* the elder, who was the grandson of *Chookragoyal Venkatadry* who had no male issue, and was continued to *Jogee Pundut* the younger until his death, when *Jillallah Bhanappah* under the plea of *Aumannutdary* (being entrusted with the management) had got possession of the said inheritance. Wherefore in consideration of this right the said office of inheritance is now granted and appointed according to the former custom to *Candraigull Ramjee* and *Jogee Pundut* and *Venkata Row* aforesaid. It is required that you put them in possession of the accounts of the *Jammabundy* and Revenue of the said *Cirkar,* and consider the books of collections, &c., papers under their signatures to be authentic, and continue to them the fees, customs and the villages of inheritance.

Consider yourselves positively ordered on the subject and act accordingly.

Written, the 24th of the great Shaban 1178 of the Hejery.

LETTER NO. 11.

Translation *of Cowle-namah* under the Seal and Signature of the *Nabob Cootabeedowlah Hussain Ali Khan Bahadar Juty Jam Jung,*

in favour of *Cundraigulla Jogee Jagunnadh*, the *Muzumdar* and *Sar Sheristadar* of the *Cirkar of Rajahmundry, dated the 1st Rubbelausauny, 1180 Hejery.*

Whereas the *Purganahs* of *Pairoor* and *Tatipaukah* in the above said *Cirkar* being granted to me by the *Honorable the English Company* as a *Jaghire* and exclusive of your being formerly in possession of the *Office of Muzumdar* of the said *Cirkar*, *His Highness the Nabob Nizam ud Dowlah* having since appointed you to the *Office of Sar Sheristadar* according to the *Sannad*, I have yielded the enjoyment of the *Merassy* to you as per particulars, and it shall be continued to you and your heirs, for ever as a *Jaghire.*

In the Purganah of Pairoor,

Roosooms or Fees at 1 Per cent on the next *Jammabundy*. Inams at 1¼ Candy of ground in each village, rent villages of *Totramoody*, including the tanks, wells, and gardens at 25 Pagodas per annum. Gardens in *Pairoor* viz :

One	containing	cocoanut trees	...	200
One	do	beetlenut do	...	150
				350

Your *Goomastah* is to remain in the above said *Purganah* and to keep and register the *Sherista* accounts.

Savarams in the Village of *Devagooptum* of 10 *Candies* of Ground.

Farms in the Village of *Nullamullah* at 40 Pagodas per annum.

In the Purganah (of) Totepauka, Roosooms or Fees at one Pagoda per cent. on the next *Jamabundy*; *Inams* at 1¼ candy of ground in each village, rent village; of *Lootcoor* at 15 Pagodas per annum; *Savarams* of 10 *candies* of ground.

Your *Goomastah* is to remain in the above *Purganah* and too keep the *Sherista* accounts.

LETTER NO. 12.

Whereas His Excellency the NABOB, High in station, famous as the Sun, NABOB AUSUPH JAU NIZAM UL MULK, NIZAM UD DOWLAH MEER NIZAM ALI CAWN BAHADAR PHUTEH JUNG SEPOY SARDAR, was graciously

pleased to grant unto RAJAH STRINIVASA JOGEE PUNDAT BAHADAR the employments of *Sar-Saristadary* and *Muzumdary* of the CIRCAR of RAJAHMUNDRUM and to authorize him to receive the fees belonging to the said employers, agreeable to the terms of the *cowle* granted by the said NABOB, an attested copy of which is hereunto annexed; and whereas the said CIRCAR hath by grants from the MOGUL and the said NABOB been delivered over to the UNITED ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY: Now be it known that we CHALESS BOURCHIER, ESQ., Governor of FORT SAINT GEORGE and of all the Forts, Factories and Places subordinate thereto, President of the COUNCIL of FORT SAINT GEORGE and the rest of the COUNCIL thereof in consideration of the great deference and respect we pay to the appointments of the said NABOB and the good and faithful behaviour of the said RAJAH STRINIVASA JOGEE PUNDAT BAHADAR, do by these presents confirm and establish the said grant of *Sar-Saristadary* and *Muzumdary* of the CIRCAR of RAJAHMUNDRI to the said RAJAH STRINIVASA JOGEE PUNDAT BAHADAR, agreeable to the terms of the said grant and do hereby authorize him to act in those employs, so long as he shall continue to pay due obedience to the Company's Authority & Government. In WITNESS whereof we have hereunto set our hands and caused the *seal* of the said Company to be affixed in FORT SAINT GEORGE, *this 5th day of May in the year of our Lord, 1767.*

(Signed) CHARLES BOURCHIER,
,, JOHN PYBUS,
,, SAMUEL ARDLEY,
,, GEORGE STRATTON,
,, GEORGE DAWSON,
,, HENRY BROOK,
,, GEORGE MACKAY.

LETTER NO. 13.

TO

CONDRAIGULLA JOGUE PUNTALOO.

The President and Council having thought it necessary that some person should be dispatched to Chicacole in order to negociate for the renting out of that Circar for next pear, you must therefore with the utmost expedetion proceed thither, and on your arrival use your best endeavours to procure as soon as possible from Sittaramrauze the account of his second Kist, being Rupees 91,353—1—4 and from Ragorauze payment of 66,667 Rupees, for which he became security on account of Sittaramrauze, together

with his own second Kist of rupees 1,75,313—9—4 and 20,000 rupees for the expences of Captain Madge's detachment, all of which sums were due, and should have been discharged the 30th June last.

It being now the proper season for letting out the Circar, so soon as the above business is finished you must lose no time, but immediately begin to treat with Sittaramrauze for the rent which he is to pay to the Company for his zemindary of Vizianagaram and for next year, and I expect and hope that you will at least make him agree to give the amount of what was stipulated for last year. As I understand from his vakeels, that he intends sending a person to Madras in order to request some favours from the President and Council, you must acquaint him as I have already done his vakeels that it would be extremely improper for him to do so, until he has discharged his debt due to the Company and settled with them for what he is to pay for the ensuing year; that this once done he may be assured that all his reasonable and just demands will meet with due attention, but until he has shown himself deserving of favours, how can he hope to receive them?

You must also find out whether Ragorauze is desirous of continuing in the management of the country which was let to him last year, and if you find him so inclined, you must leave no means untried to obtain from him such a sum, as with the money which Sitaramarauze may agree to give for his zamindary of Vizianagaram &c. will make ten lacks of Rupees clear for the whole circar, which I flatter myself it will be in your power to prevail on him to do, because he has not now the arguments in his favour which he had when it was let to him before, namely the famine which prevailed over all the Circar, and the great devastation occasiond by the small-pox; besides he will enter immediately on the management of the Company, while the grain is yet standing and none of the revenues collected from the zamindars.

If after using every argument and trying every method you can think of, you find it impossible to bring him to the terms above-mentioned, you in that case have permission to settle with him in such a manner as well make only nine Laack, but as this is the lowest sum which will be accepted of should you be able to find out any other proper person who will give more, you must receive his proposals and transmit them immediately to the Chief and Council here, acquainting them at the same time with what you may be able to learn of the character of the person who makes the proposals, of his wealth and family and any other circumstances which you may think necessary for their information.

Should Ragorauze however agree to the terms first mention'd, or should no other person do so, and he consent to make up nine

Laack, you must endeavour to get security for at least part of his third Kist, which will be due the 30th September, and neither his, nor any other person's proposals, for renting the Circar, for next year, will be listenend to, unless they will agree to give Soucars' security for at least third part of the rent, for if they are not capable, or willing to do so, they are not proper for such an undertaking.

Unless Ragorauzu absolutely refuses to undertake the renting of the Circar without Ichapour he has the whole under his direction. I think it would be much more for the interest of the Company if Ichapour including Khimmedy, Jelmore and Ichaley was let out separately to some other responsible person, because it will prevent disputes with Narraindeo, and thereby the means of preserving the Circar in peace and tranquility; besides the Chicacole district, is as much as he can manage by himself and it is by no means proper that Sittaramrauze should have any further concern with the zemindars if it can possibly be avoided.

As the Governor and Council are determined, not on any account to accept of less than the sum of nine Lack for the whole Circar, should you therefore find that it will be impossible to get it, you must lose no time in giving me the most early intelligence, in order that they may adopt whatever other measures they may judge proper for managing the Country.

You must constantly advise me of all your proceedings, and as mis-carriage of your letters may be attended with bad consequences, I would recommend your always sending duplicates by different tappalls, that is, by dispatching the original and duplicate, with the intermission of one day.

Should there be any thing which requires the Chief and Council to be immediately acquainted with, you may send such letters as contain those advices, both by the tappals, and *hercarahs* at the same time.

As I have fully explained to you in conversation the force and meaning of the fore-going instructions, I make no doubt that you will pay the most exact attention to them, and execute the trust reposed in you to the best of your power, as you acquitted yourself at Sattaveram much to the satisfaction of Mr. Crawford and myself, and thereby acquired the name of a good and faithful servant to the Company; continue to make yourself worthy of such an appellation; I heartily wish you success and date this in *Masulipatam*, the *7th day of August 1767.*

(*Signed*) L. SMITH,

FROM L. SMITH

TO JOGUE PUNTOOLOO,

LETTER NO. 14.

TO

THE ZAMINDARS IN THE CIRCAR OF RAJAMUNDRUM.

His Highness NIZAMUD DOWLAH BAHADAR, out of his great favor having granted to RAJAH STRINIVASA ROW, a *Sannad* appointing him *Sar-Sheristadar* and *Muzumdar* of the RAJAMUNDRI CIRCAR, and the said RAJAH STRINIVASA ROW, having been confirmed by a *Sannad* from the President and Council of this place under their hands and the Honorable Company's Seal to act in the said employs of *Sar-Sheristadar* and *Muzumdar* of the RAJAMUNDRUM CIRCAR, in consideration of his long and faithful services: As you have accordingly granted him some villages in your respective Districts at certain rents, which said rent he will be accountable for and pay to the Company as it has always been customary for other *Mirasidars* to do in former times to the Government, I have no objection thereto. RAJA STRINIVASA ROW, having thus obtained the Honorable Company's favor by his long faithful services, I doubt not you will therefore fully and punctually conform to your engagements agreeable to the *Sannad* as you have granted to him under your respective seals and in conjunction with him exert yourselves to promote the Company's interest and prosperity and in all things conform yourselves to their pleasure, which will be the surest means of obtaining their friendship and favor and give me satisfaction.

FORT SAINT GEORGE, (*Signed*) CHARLES BOURCHIER.
25th September 1769.

LETTER NO. 15.

TO

THE ZAMINDARS &c.

BELONGINING TO THE RAJAMUNDRI CIRCAR.

Whereas, the *Soubah* of the Deckan, NABOB AUSUPH JAH NIZAM UL MULK NIZAMUD DOWLAH MEER NIZAM ALI CAWN BAHADAR FUTTA JUNG SEPOY SURDAR, has granted unto CONDRAGULA JOGEE PUNTOOLOO the title of RAJAH STRINIVASA ROW JOGEE JAGGUNNAD BAHADAR with office of *Sur-Sheristadary* and *Muzumdary* in the RAJAHMUNDRI CIRCAR, and within certain villages *Inams* and Fees which have been confirmed by the *Sannad* of the PRESIDENT and COUNCIL of FORT ST. GEORGE, this is therefore to request you to regard him as such and to give him the necessary assistance in his said employ,

I have ordered my seal to be affixed to this and have hereunto set my hand in *Masulipatam*, this *1st day of December 1769*.

(*Signed*) ALEXANDER WYNCH.

No. 16

A COWLE granted by the Hon'ble JOSIAS DU PRE', Esqr. President & Governor, Council of Fort St. George and its dependencies, To the MAZUMDAR of the RAJAHMUNDRY CIRCAR.

In consideration of the allegiance & steady attachment which, you have manifested to the Hon'ble East India Company and reposing especial trust & confidence in you, We do agree to accept of the sum you have offered to pay to us for & on behalf of the said Company for the villages of Casenacorroo etc., for one year, that is, say from the twenty fifth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and sixty nine until the twenty fifth day of September, one thousand seven hundred & seventy, being five thousand four hundred and eighty (5480) Madras Pagodas, but out of the said sum, we do consent to deduct the sum of three hundred (300) Madras Pagodas as an equivalent and in lieu of the customary present from the Circar to you so that the sum to be actually received from you on account of the said Countries is five thousand one hundred & eighty (5180) Madras Pagodas, and the said sum is to be paid in manner & form following, that is to say:

On the	1st December 1769	...	575
	1st January 1770	...	575
	1st February	...	575
	1st March	...	575
	1st April	...	575
	1st May	...	575
	1st June	...	575
	1st July	...	575
	1st August	...	580
	Madras Pagodas	...	5,180

The punctual payment of the said sum at the times above-mentioned will merit our favor & firm support:— In WITNESS whereof WE the said PRESIDENT & COUNCIL of FORT ST. GEORGE have hereunto set our hands and caused the Seal of the said Company to be affixed in Fort St. George, this twentieth day of February, one thousand seven hundred & seventy.

20—2—1770

Entered in the Secretary's Office

BY ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT & COUNCIL.

V. M. GOODLAY.

Secretary.

JOSIAS DU PRE'

WARREN HASTINGS

SAML. GOODLEY

GEO. STRATTON.

RICHD. BRICKENDEN.

GEO. MACKAY.

No. 17.

A COWLE granted by the Hon'ble JOSIAS DU PRE'' Esqr., President & Governor etc, Council of FORT ST. GEORGE & its Dependencies to RAJA CONDRAGULA STRENIVASSAROW JUGGERNAUT Bahaudur *Mazumdar* and *Sur-Sheristadar* of the *Rajahmundry Sircar.*

In consideration of the allegiance & steady attachment which you have manifested to the *Hon'ble East India Company* and reposing especial trust & confidence in you, We do agree to accept of the sums you have offered to pay to us, for & on behalf of said company for the *Merassy of Casenacurroo* etc. villages now in your possession for three years, that is to say, from the twenty fifth day of September One thousand Seven hundred & Seventy to the twenty fifth day of September One thousand seven hundred and seventy three, answering to the years of Phazely 1180, 81 & 82 being for five thousand four hundred and eighty (5480) Madras Pagodas per annum, but out of the said sum We do consent to deduct the sum of three hundred (300) Madras Pagodas as an equivalent & in lieu of the customary presents from the circar to you so that the sum to be actually received from you is Five thousand One hundred & Eighty (5180) Madras Pagodas per annum, and the said sum is to be paid in manner and form following, that is to say:—

On the 1 December	1770, 71, 72	...	575	..	20
1 January	1771, 72, 73	...	575	...	20
1 February		...	575	...	20
1 March		...	575	...	20
1 April		...	575	...	20
1 May		...	575	...	20
1 June		...	575	...	20
1 July		...	575	...	20
1 August		...	575	...	20
Madras Pagodas ...			5,180		

The punctual payment of said sums at the above-mentioned periods will merit our favor & firm support.

In WITNESS whereof We, the PRESIDENT & COUNCIL aforesaid have set our hands & caused the Seal of said company to be affixed

hereto, in FORT ST. GEORGE; this twelfth day of April One thousand seven hundred and seventy one.

JOSIAS DU PRE'
WARREN HASTINGS.
SAM. GOODLEY.
JOHN SMITH.
GEO. SMITH.
HENRY BROOKE.
RICHD. BRICKENDON.
JOHN WHITEHILL.
GEO. MACKAY.

12—4—1771
Entered in the Secretary's office,
BY ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT & COUNCIL.

V. M. GOODLAY,
Secretary.

No. 18.

TO

CONDRAIGULOO VENCATAROW JAGGERNAUT
Mazumadar and *Sar-saristadar* for the CIRCAR OF RAJAHMUNDRI,

Whereas His Excellency the NABOB AUSULPH JAU NIZAM UL MULCK NIZAM UD DOWLAH MEER NIZAM ALLI CAWN BEHAUDRE PHUTEH JUNG SEAPOY SARDAR was pleased to grant unto your late brother RAJAH STREENAWAUS JOGUE PUNDAT BAHAUDRE JELLALAH RAMAJEE BANOW and yourself the office of *Mazumdar* for the CIRCAR OF RAJAHMUNDRI and whereas by a *Saned* from the President & Council of FORT ST. GEORGE dated the *5th May 1767* to the said RAJAH STREENAWASS JOGUE PUNDAT BEHAUDRE the said grant was confirmed & established, now be it known that We, ALEXANDER WYNCH Esqr., President & Governor and the rest of the COUNCIL of FORT ST. GEORGE and its dependencies do in consequence of the before-mentioned grant and of your own faithful and good behavior hereby confirm you in the office of *Muzumdar* for the CIRCAR OF RAJAHMUNDRI and do authorize you to receive all the fees and advantages belonging thereto agreable to the terms of the said Nabob's Grant; and we the said President and Council do further in consideration of the merit and services of your said brother RAJAH STREENAWAUS JOGUE PUNDAT BEHAUDRE and of your own good character and conduct hereby appoint you to the office of *Sar Saristadar* of the CIRCAR OF RAJAHMUNDRI vacant by your said brother's decease, and do authorise you to act in the said office and to receive all the fees and advantages belonging thereto in the same manner as your said brother was authorised to do by virtue of the grant given to him by the beforementioned Nabob and confirmed to him by the *President & Council* of FORT ST. GEORGE,

This *Saned* to continue in force so long as you shall remain faithful and in due obedience to the ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S authority & Government. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands & caused the Seal of the said Company to be affixed in FORT ST. GEORGE this *13th day of July in the year of our Lord, One thousand seven hundred & seventy three,*

ALEXANDER WYNCH.
JOHN SMITH.
JOHN WHITEHILL
CHRLES SMITH.
SAML. JOHNSON.

ENTERED IN THE SECRETARY'S OFFICE
By Order of the President & Council.

CHARLES OAKELEY.
Secretary.

LETTER 19

A *Cowle* granted by the *Honorable Alexander Wynch Esqr.*, President and Governor & Council of *Fort St. George* and its Dependencies to *Condraigulah Vencatrow Jaggernaut Mazumdar* and *Sursirastadar* of *Rajahmundry Circar*.

In consideration of the allegeance and steady attachment which you have manifested to the Honourable East India Company and reposing special trust and confidence in you, We do agree to accept of the sums, you have offered to pay to us, for and on behalf of the said Company for the villages of Casenacurroo &c. now in your possession for Three Years, that is to say from the twenty fifth day of September, One Thousand seven hundred and seventy six, answering to the years of *Phazely* 1183, 1184 & 1185 being Five Thousand four hundred and eighty (5480) Madras Pagodas per annum. But out of the said sum, We do consent to deduct the sum of Three hundred (300) Madras Pagodas as an equivalent and in lieu of the customary presents from the Circar to you, so that the sum to be actually received from you is Five Thousand one hundered and eighty (5180) Madras Pagodas per annum and the said sum is to be paid in manner and form following. That is to say

On the 1st December 1773, 1774 & 1775	...	575	... 20
1st January 1774, 1775, & 1776	...	575	... 20
1st February	...	575	... 20
1st March	...	575	... 20
1st April	...	575	... 20
1st May	...	575	... 20
1st June	...	575	... 20

1st July	...	575	...	20
1st August	...	575	...	20
Madras Pagodas	...	5,180		

The punctual payment of the said sums, at the abovementioned periods, will merit our favor, and firm support. In witnes whereof we the President and Council aforesaid have set our hands & caused the Seal of the said Company to be affixed hereto in Fort St. George this third day of May, One Thousand seven hundred and seventy four.

Entered in the Secretary's Office.
BY ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT & COUNCIL.

CHAS. OAKELEY.
Secretary.

ALEXANDER WYNCH.
GEO. DAWSON,
HENRY BROOKLE-JONE.
SAMUEL JOHNSON,

LETTER NO. 20.

TO

RAJAH CONDRAIGULLA VENCATAROW JAGGERNAUT BEHAUDER
Muzamdar and Sarsaristadar for the CIRCAR OF RAJAMUNDRY.

Whereas his Highness the NABOB AUSULF JAU NIZAM UL MULK NIZAM UD DOWLAH MEER NIZAM ALLY CAWN BEHAUDER PHUTEH JAUNG SEPOY SURDAR was pleased to grant unto your late brother RAJAH STREENEVAS JOGUE PUNDAT BEHAUDER, JELELLA RAMAJEE and YOURSELF the office of *Muzumdar* for the *Circar of Rajamundri*, and whereas by a *Saned* from the President and council of FORT ST. GEORGE dated *5th May 1767* to the said RAJAH STREENAWAUS JOGUE PUNDAT BEHAUDER the said grant was confirmed and established and whereas by a *Saned* from the *President* and *Council* of FORT ST. GEORGE dated the *18th July 1778*, the said grant was continued and further confirmed to you, and whereas the *President and Council* of FORT ST. GEORGE on the *20th November 1770* were pleased to abolish the offices of *Mazumdar* and *Sarseristadar* for the CIRCAR of RAJAMUNDRI. Now be it Known that We, CHARLES SMITH Esq., *President* and *Governor* and the rest of the *Council* of FORT ST. GEORGE and the Dependancies thereof being duly sensible of the hardships under which you labored by the above-mentioned abolition of the said offices do hereby in full confidence of your faithful and good behaviour

and in virtue of the beforementioned Grant reinstate you in the fullest and most ample manner in the office of *Mazumadar* for the CIRCAR OF RAJAMUNDRI, and do hereby authorize you, receive all and every the Fees and advantages formerly belonging thereto agreeably to the terms of the said Nabob's Grant and we the said *President* and *Council* do further in consideration of your past services and good conduct hereby reinstate you in the office of *Sarsaristadar* of the CIRCAR OF RAJAHMUNDRI to act in every respect as formerly in the said office and to receive all and every the fees and advantages belonging thereto in the same manner as you were formerly authorised to do in virtue of the grant given to your late brother RAJAH STREENEWAS JOGEE PUNDAT BEHAUDER, JELLALA RAMAGEE by the before-mentioned NABOB which said grant was confirmed to him and afterwards to yourself by the *President* and *Council* of FORT ST. GEORGE. This *Suned* to continue in full force so long as you shall remain faithful and in due obedience to the ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S authority and Government.

Entered in the Secretarie's Office.

BY ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT & COUNCIL.

(*Signed*) CHARLES FREEMAN.
Secretary.

(*Signed*) CHARLES SMITH,
" SAMUEL JOHNSON
" ALXR. DAVIDSON.
" WILIAMS.

LETTER NO. 21.

To the ZAMINDARS &c. belonging to the RAJAHMUNDRI CIRCAR.

Whereas the *Subah* of the Decan *Nabob* Ausif Jah Nizam Ali Mulk Nizam ud dowlah Meer Nizam Ally Cawn Behauder Fata Jung Sepa Surdar has granted unto Condraigulla Vencata Royloo Puntaloo the title of Rajah Vencatrow Jaggernaut Behaudar with the offices of *Sursirastadary* and *Mazumdary* in the *Rajahmundri Circar* & with it certain villages, *Inams* and Fees which have been confirmed by the *Saned* of the *President & Council* of *Fort St. George*, this is therefore to require you to regard him as such, and to give him the necessary assistance in his said employ, I have ordered my Seal to be affixed to this and have hereunto set my hand in MASULIPAtam this *24th day of October 1774.*

JOHN WHITEHILL.

No. 22

A *Cowle* granted by *Edward Cotsford Esquire*, Chief & Council of Masulipatam and its Dependancies to *Condragoola Vencatroyloo.*

We, reposing especial trust and confidence in your integrity and good management, do hereby appoint you to be renter of the farm of Antravidee under Masulipatam for the term of ten years, that is to say, from the first day of June, One thousand seven hundred and eighty, until the thirty-first day of May, One thousand seven hundred and ninety, English style, You are therefore to take upon your-self the management thereof, and to collect all the revenues arising therefrom according to custom. protecting the inhabitants in their rights and allowing unto every one in like manner as has been heretofore allowed provided, nevertheless that the Hon'ble the President & Council of Fort St. George approve of and confirm you as renter of the same, and that you do punctually pay unto us for the use of the Hon'ble Company the sum of Nine hundred and Ten Pagodas per annum free from all charges & deductions as a rent for the same in manner following viz.,

On the 30th November	...	200
31st March	...	230
30th June	...	250
30th September	...	230
Pagodas	...	910

And in case you fail in any of the above payments by the space of Ten days, We will immediately take the beforementioned District from under your management, but if you do punctually observe the before mentioned conditions, you will merit our favor & protection, and We do promise to make you a reasonable and equitable allowance for all losses that you may sustain by means of the Marattas or other enemies but you are to keep at your own charge a proper Sibbundy to keep peace and good order and prevent the depradations of the Polygars. In witness whereof, We, the Chief & Council aforesaid, have set our hands and caused the seal of the said Company to be affixed hereunto in MASULIPATAM, this *Seventeenth November, One thousand seven hundred and eighty.*

EDWARD COTSFORD.
JAMES HODGES.
JOHN PETER BOILSAU.
THOMAS BARNARD.
ALEXR. WINGLE.

LETTER NO. 23.

TO

THE ZEMINDARS AND MIRASIDARS
IN THE CIRCAR OF RAJAHMUNDRI.

His Highness NIZAM UD DOWLAH BEHAUDER out of his great Favor having heretofore granted to Rajah Condraigulla Vencatarow Jaggernant Behauder a *Saned* appointing him *Sarsaristadar* & *Mazumdar* of the Rajahmundri Circar and the said Rajah Vencatarow having been confirmed by a *Saned* from the *President* and *Council* of this Place under their Hands and the Hon'ble Company's seal to act in the said Employs of Sarsaristadar and Mazumadar of the Rajahmundri Circar and the President and Council of Fort Saint George having been pleased on the 20th November 1778 to take from him the above mentioned Offices, I and the rest of the Council of Fort St. George being sensible of the hardship under which Rajah Vencatarow has labored by being divested of his Employs which were established by His Highness Nizam Ud Dowlah Behauder by *Saned* and confirmed by the President and Council of this place, have reinstated him in the offices of Sarsaristadar and Mazumadar of the Rajahmundri Circar with all the villages, *Inams* and fees formerly granted him in consideration of his long and faithful services. This is therefoie strictly to enjoin you to consider him as such in every respect as heretofore and to give him the necessary assistance in his said employs and I doubt not you will in conjunction with him exert yourselves to promote the Company's Interest and Prosperity and in things conform yourselves to their pleasure which will be the surest means of obtaining their favor and give me satisfaction.

Fort St. George, 14th February 1701.
Entered in the Secretary's Office
By Order
(Signed) CHARLES FREEMAN,
Secretary.

(Signed) CHARLES SMITH,
Governor.

No. 24.

A *Sanud* granted by the Right Hon'ble *George Lord Macartney*, K.B., President and . Governor &c., Council of *Fort St. George* : To *Rajah Congraigula Juggernaut Row Ramursoo Bahadar.*

Whereas, in consideration of the firm and steady attachment, of your family to the interests of the Hon'ble the United East India Company's Government, and the diligence and fidelity of your late uncles Joghey Puntaloo and Vencataroyaloo in the discharge of their duty as the Company's

Interpreters, We, the Right Hon'ble the President and Governor &c. Council of Fort St. George do hereby notify and confirm you in the succession to your late uncle, Vencataroyaloo deceased, in the said office, hereby obviating all and every claim that may be asserted by any person whosoever to the said office of the Hon'ble Company's Interpreter in the Northern Districts under Masulipatam, investing you at the same time with all the Rights and Privileges appertaining to the said office together with the titles and distinctions bestowed on your predecessors and now on yourself by the Soubah of the Deccan conformable to the usual customs and practices of the country. In witness whereof we have here. unto set our hand and caused the Company's seal to be affixed at Fort St-George this Twenty-third day of February, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Five.

(Signed) MACARTNEY,
,, RASLLINY,
,, DAVIDSON,
DANIEL.

Entered in the Secretary's Office,
By order of the President & Council
(Signed) CHARLES FREEMAN
Entered in the Secretary's Office
at Masulipatam.
BY ORDER OF THE CHIEF AND COUNCIL.
(Signed) COOK.

N.B. THE FAMILY HISTORY GIVES THE FOLLOWING FURTHER ACCOUNT OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HON'BLE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE KANDREGULA FAMILY IN THE 19TH CENTURY:—

"But thereafter in the course of few years Lord William Bentinck the then Governor of Madras considering that the emoluments which the Court of Directors had sanctioned is scarcely sufficient to maintain with due dignity the family of that far-famed Jogi Puntuloo, granted in 1806 to one Gopal Rao, the Deevy Purganah on Zamindari tenure, on the annual peishcush of Rupees 47, 887. † † † †
On his death, the Estate was enjoyed by his son and on his death by the deceased Zemindar's father. In 1836 this Gopal Rao the adoptive father of the deceased died. The deceased being then a minor of tender years, the estate was taken under the charge of the Court of Wards.

"While matters stood thus, the historically disastrous famine occurred in 1832-33 which precluded the possibilty of making any collections and compelled the Zemindar to borrow, not only for his own maintenance but also to meet the Government demand, large sums of money to

repay which, the Government subsequently advanced during deceased's minority the sum of Rupees 100,851-4-2. On attaining majority in 1850 the deceased Zemindar presented petitions to the authorities, that he would pay the arrears, and, that the Estate might be continued to him, Messers. Porter and Lushington respectively, recommended to the Commissioner of Northern Circars on 3rd November 1850 and 14th February and 16th September 1852 that the Estate should be continued to him; but that the Hon'ble Walter Elliot, Commissioner, without enquiring into the relative merits of the case, the respectability of the family, and the deceased Zamindar's ability or otherwise to manage well his Estate, reported to the Government of Madras, in June 1852, that the Estate must be sold, in one para of his report, and that it many be continued to the Zemindar in the other. This recommendation will appear on the very outset a vertically opposed one.

"On receipt of this report, the then Governor Sir Honry Pottinger on 19th July, passed a minute directing that the late Zemindar's competency and prudence which were impeached in the report under review may be enquired into, and tried. The Councillors not having acceded to the minute adverted to, the Estate was brought to hammer and sold to the detriment of the late Zemindar in Public auction, and taken by Government itself, for a small sum of rupees 25,000. On the death of his adoptive father and on the sale of the Zemindary, the Government of Madras recommended to the Government of India the grant of Pension of 300 Rupees per mensem with certain gardens on the condition that it is to be for life only. This the Government of India sanctined as recommended. The Estate of Deevy bearing a permanent assessment of Rs. 47,887 was conferred on Zemindary tenure as mentioned in para *Supra* to Gopal Rao an ancestor of late Proprietor in the year 1805. " This family was one of respectability and its members had held the " post of native agents or dubashs to former Chiefs in Council at Masulipatam. In reward of their services they had attained lands & Offices " in Rajamundri & Masulipatam Districts and a monthly pension of 150 " pagodas had been conferred on Gopal Rao, the individual above named " which in 1805 was merged in the grant of Deevy Zemindary. Gopal " Row the Istimrar Zemindar and his two brothers discharged their " peishcush punctually for 22 years or until the death of the last of them " in 1827'28. He was succeeded by his son Chinna Gopal Roo whose " administration of the property was not equally fortunate and on whose " death on the 16th May 1836, an arrear of Peishcush to the extent of " 50,390. The estate which had for some time previously been under " attachment for arrears was then taken under the charge of the Court of Wards on account of the minority of the now deceased Zemindar."

The estate remained under the Court's charge for the period of 14 years or till the expiration of the minority on the 9th August 1850, and an arrear of Rs. 46, 485-15-10 accrued during that period in addition to that already noticed Rs 59, 390 as having been incured by the previous Proprietor (deceased's father), With a view to effect a composition with private creditors of the Estate the Government also advanced Rupees 100,851 with the sanction of Government of India. The Government thought that the amount advanced would be recovered from the profits of the estate, but they were sadly disappointed.

Having no other alternative the estate was sold for arrears of Revenue but however when selling the property by auction the Government intimated their intention of recommending to the Government of India that a liberal provision should be made for the Zamindar and requested the Commissioner to report the allowance to be assigned him whether in land or money.

Then Mr. Walter Elliot the Commissioner concured with the Collector of the District in proposing the grant of Rs. 350 with three gardens which are family property. On receipt of this the Government of Madras recommended the grant of 300 Rupees and three gardens. So the matter was at rest for some time. Then in 1863 the late Ex-Proprietor presented a Petition to the Board of Revenue, requesting them to order the continuance of Estate to him. They referred this Petition to the Collector for Report. The then Collector Mr. Foord on 29th November 1863 reported to the Board, that, the Ex-Zemindar **is** able, competent to manage the estate and that it might safely be let to him. The Honourable Board approved of the Collector's recommendation and submitted it for the favourable consideration of Government. Whereupon the then Governor of Madras Sir William T. Denison and the Commander-in-chief were in favour of Board's recommendation but the other Councillors not having acceded to the above, no justice was done to the Petitioner, notwithstanding the opinions of three Collectors, Board of Revenue, two Governors, and a Commander-in-chief, in favour of the Petitioner.

Being dissatisfied with the Pension of 300 Rupees per mensem and having lost all hope of regaining his Estate the late Zemindar applied to the authorities for an increase stating that he had been harshly treated throughout. Thereupon the local Government recommended to the Secretary of State on the 18th May 1870 that the Estate which was originally granted to the late proprietor's father in consideration of the energetic and confidential service rendered by the original ancestor in securing the interests of British power was not discontinued or wrested by the late Zemindar's misbehaviour or imprudence, and that therefore a

ready money allowance of Rupees 525 per mensem which was the rate *enjoyed by his uncle should be continued to him* together with the Deevy estate but stated that his present allowance of Rupees 300 should be increased to Rupees 500 per mensem.

With reference to this recommendation the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India observed thus:—"The memorialist was treated with less liberality, than he ought to have been legally favoured in consideration of his case, that the estate was granted to the family for and on account of the confidential service by his ancestors, that the same estate was not wrested for memorialist's bad behavior or imprudence; that the Monthly allowance of Rs. 525 granted to his ancestors, and the estate was unjustly discontinued and that therefore the Madras Government recommended that the allowance of 300 Rupees which memorialist is now in the receipt should be increased to Rupees 500 which is a just liberality, consideration being given to the circumstance clearly reported by Madras Government, to the opinion or recommendation expressed or submitted by competent authorities (Collectors, Board of Revenue, late Governor Sir William Denison and Commander-in-chief, stating that the estate shall be continued to *memorialist*) *sanctioned a monthly allowance of* 500 Rs. in lieu of 300." This the late Zemindar continued to enjoy until his death which occured on the 28th January 1878, executing a deed conveying authority to adopt a heir.

MALKAPURAM STONE-PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADEVA (RUDRAMBA).*

Śaka Samvat 1183.

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A., B.L.,

This Inscription is engraved on the three sides of a huge stone pillar, 14′ – 7″ × 2′ – 10″ × 2′ – 8″, standing in front of the ruined temple of Viśvēśvara in the fields of Malkāpuram, Guntur Taluk of the Guntur District. The main inscription consists of one hundred and eighty two lines, and the letters are big, bold and clear. At the bottom of the first side, there are eighteen lines of Telugu prose giving the names of some of the donees referred to in the main inscription and the extent of the land given to each. These lines should, I think, be regarded as a sort of *Appendix* to the main inscription. Below the inscription on the third side, there are some later inscriptions relating to the same temple,

Except the portion containing the description of the boundaries, the rest of the inscription is in Sanskrit verse. The description of the boundaries is in Telugu prose interspersed with Sanskrit words. There are a few spelling mistakes here and there in the Sanskrit portion; but on the whole, it is remarkably correct. The Telugu portion is faulty in several places.

The main object of the inscription is to record that, in the Śaka year 1183, Kākatiya King G a ṇ a p a t i d ē v a gave away the village of M a n d a ḍ a m, (now called Mandaḍam), and his daughter Queen R u d r ā m b ā, the village of V e l a ṅ g a p ū n ḍ i (now called Velagapūḍi), to Gaṇapati's spriritual *guru* V i ś v ē ś v a r a Ś i v a, and that the latter constituted the villages into an *agrahāra*, with the name of V i ś v ē ś v a r a G ō l a k i, and established in that village a *maṭham* (monastery), a *satrālaya* (choultry) and other charitable institutions. Incidentally it mentions a number of other charities, endowed by Viśvēśvara Śiva, in other villages also.

The year of the grant is expressed by the chronogram *lōhah kōyam*,—each sylable of which has a numerical value corresponding to the order in which the consonant occurs in the *varga* to which it belongs, the consonants *ya* to *ha*, being taken as one *varga*. Thus, *lō* = 3, *ha* = 8,

*A Paper read before the General Body Meeting of the Society,

kō=1 and *yam*=1. Reading these figures backwards (*ankānam vāmalō-gatih*), we get the year 1183 which corresponds to the cyclic year *Ḍurmati*, and A.D. 1261. The inscription is interesting and important as throwing fresh light on, (1) some disputed points in the history of the Kākatiya dynasty, (2) the history of the Gōlaki Śaiva monastery and (3) the condition of the rural economy in the Andhra country in the thirteenth century of the Christian era.

One of the most important points in the Kākatiya history is whether the Kākatiyas are Kshatriyas or not ? This point was discussed at length sometime ago, in the pages of the *Journal of the Telugu Academy* (Vols. II & X.), where I held that the Kākatiyas were not Kshatriyas, and Mr. V. Nīlādrirāju held the contrary view. The present inscription supports Mr. Nīlādrirāju's view by describing the Kākatiyas as Kshatriyas of the solar race. I am, nevertheless, of opinion that the Kākatiyas were not Kshatriyas and that they were very probably Śūdras. King Gaṇapati conquered the northern portion of the Chōḻa kingdom, *i.e.*, the Telugu districts which orginally belonged to the Chālukyan kingdom and became merged in the Chōḻa kingdom when Kulōttunga Chōḻa I. amalgamated the two kingdoms; and it was in some of the Kākatiya inscriptions which came into existence subsequent to this conquest that we first hear of the solar origin of this dynasty. The Chōḻas always claimed to be Kshatriyas of the solar race, and Gaṇapti seems to have thought that the conqueror of the Chōḻas should be no less. We meet with this claim to Kshatriya-ship neither in the earlier inscriptions of Gaṇapatidēva nor in those of his predecessors. There is a very elaborate Sanskrit inscription of Rudra I., engraved on a stone-pillar planted near the Thousand Pillared Manṭapa in Anumakoṇḍa near Warangal (Ōrugallu). In this inscription the geneology of their family begins with Tribhuvana Malla[1] of the "*Kākatiya vamśa*". If Rudra I. had any claim to be regarded as a *kshatriya*, one would expect such a claim to be mentioned in this inscription. The Kalavacheṟu Grant of Anitalli published by me in the *Journal of the Telugu Academy* (Vol. II.), says that by the grace of the supreme *S'akti* Kākati, a certain *pumpkin* creeper bore a son, and hence the great family became the Kākatiya family![2] This reminds one of the mythological origin of the Pudukotah Tonḍaimān family given in certain books: *viz.*, once upon a time Indra the king of the gods, came

1 श्रीमत्रिभुवनमल्लोराजा काकत्यवंश संभूतः ।

2 काकत्याः पराशक्तेः कृपया कूष्माण्डवल्लिका काचित् ॥
पुत्रमसूत तदेतत् कुलमनघंकाकतिरंय सौज्ञमभूत् ॥ ll 25—26

on earth and had sexual intercourse with a woman and thereby begot a son, who became the progenitor of the Tondaimān family. We know that the Tondaimāns are Kallars by caste; and if we substitute a Sētupati Rāja and a Kallar woman for Indra and his temporary consort, we might get nearer the true origin of the family. I understand that the Pumpkin tradition is believed in the Mandapāṭi family of kshatriyas, who claim descent from the Kākatiyas and to whom, on account of this tradition, pumpkin as an article of food is anathema. Pumpkin, however, is not a kshatriya of the solar or any other race!

We shall see what the *Pratāparudrīyam* a Sanskrit work on Rhetoric, dedicated to Pratāparudra, says on the subject. In one place, we are told that god Vishṇu created the Kākatiya family to excel the solar and the lunar families of the Kshatriyas, in fame.[3] In another place, the Kākatiya family is said to have won a victory over the solar and the lunar races.[4] In a third place it is said that while the Kākatiya family was in the ascendant, the solar and lunar families sunk into insignificance.[5] It is clear from these extracts from the *Pratāparudrīyam* that the Kākatiya family belongs neither to the solar nor lunar race of kshatriyas. From all the authorities quoted above, it seems to me that the solar origin of this family was, for the first time, invented after Gaṇapati's conquest of the Telugu portion of the Chōḷa kingdom and that the true tradition of the family does not support their pretension, and that pretension itself did not persist. If then, the Kākatiya family is neither a solar nor a lunar family, is it a kshatriya family at all? I think not. Both in Literature and Epigraphy, all families claiming to be kshatriyas trace their descent either from the Sun or the Moon. It is suggested by Mr. Nīlādrirāju that the *Purāṇas* make mention of several kshatriya families, other than the solar and the lunar families and the Kākatīya family might be one of them. But we have no means of connectiong this family with any of those Purāṇic families. It is significant also that nearly all the seventy seven generals and ministers of the Kākatīyas were *S'udras*, *Kammas*, *Reḍḍis* and *Velamas* etc. It is true that the *Pratāparudrīyam* calls the Kākatiyas Kshatriyas, but this is by way of a compliment to the poet's patron.

3 अत्यर्केन्दुकुलप्रशास्ति म सृजाद्वयम् काकतीयान्वयम् । *Nayakaprakaranam.*

4 सोमार्काभिजनं त मद्य जयति श्रीकाकतीयान्वयः । *Natakaprakaranam*

5 साहस्रांशव मैन्दवं च महती ये द्वेकुले निर्मिते
ते जाते लघुनी गुणैर्विजयनि श्रीकाकतीयान्वाये । *Natakaprakaranam.*

Another disputed point in the history of the family is whether R u d r a m a, was the *daughter* or *widow*, of Gaṇapati. The present inscription calls her, Gaṇapati's *daughter* and this is confirmed by several other inscriptions and also by *Pratāparudrīyam*. The erroneous theory that Rudrama was the widow of Gaṇapati was started by M a r c o P o l o who visited South India (Andhra dēśa) during the reign of Rudrama. R u d r a m a was a widow at this time, and she was Gaṇapati's successor. Putting these two facts together, Marco Polo seems to have jumped to the conclusion that Rudrama was Gaṇapati's widow.[6] This theory must now be held to have been thoroughly demolished,

In this inscription, P r a t ā p a r u d r a is incidentally referred to as Rudrama's *son*. (ll. 52—53) And this had led some to think that he was her son, *not* grandson. This view is clearly incorrect. The *Pratāparudrīyam* expressly tells us that Pratāparudra was Rudrama's *daughter's son*, and that she adopted him him as a son.[7] The term '*putra*' is wide enough to include an adopted son and it is evidently used in this sense in this inscription.

From other inscriptions we find that king Gaṇapati ruled for sixty years from Ś. Ś. 1122 to 1182, and that Rudrama ascended the throne in the latter year. The present inscription tells us that Rudrama was actually ruling at the time of the grant. (*S'āstyēsha chaturāmburāḥ sirāsinām S'rī Rudradēvī bhuvam*". (ll. 42—43.)) And yet it is stated that Gaṇapati and Rudrama made grants of a village each, at one and the same time in S. S. 1183; and that Rudrama made the grant with the permission of her father, (*tadujñayā*). To explain this apparent inconsistency we have, it seems to me, to assume that Gaṇapati abdicated the throne in favour of his daughter in Ś. Ś. 1182, but that he continued to administer the state for sometime longer, though in the name of Rudrama. The object of Gaṇapati in abdicating seems to have been, to have the satisfaction of R u d r a m a firmly established on the throne. There is reason to suppose that Gaṇapati feared that all might not go well with his daughter after he passed away. We have the authority of the *Pratāparudrīyam* for the statement that on the birth of Rudrama, Gaṇapati gave out that he got a son and called the baby Rudradēva. Consistently with this, the sovereign is called *Rudradēva*, not *R u d r a d ē v ī*,

6 Marco Polo landed at Motupalli which was in the kingdom of the Kôta Bêtarâja which was at that time ruled by his widow. Ganapambâ. Ganapambâ was the younger sister of Rudrama. It might be that Marco Polo referred to Ganapamba who was a widow and ruling over her husband's kingdom, and modern scholars have erred in thinking that Marco referred to Rudramadêvî —Ed.

7 स्वीकृते पुत्रभावेन दौहित्रे प्राक्समाज्ञया ।
अस्मिन्निधाहि धौरेये गुर्वीमुर्वीधुरामिति ॥

Natakaprakaranam.

in the inscriptions issued during the first few years of Rudrama's reign. In a Manuscript entitled *'Velugōṭivāri vamśāvali'* (Geneology of the Velugōṭi Family), which can be seen in the Library of the *Telugu Academy*, we are told that a certain Prasādāditya of that family helped Rudrama to keep the kingdom as against her enemies, and thereby earned the title of *Kākatirājya sthāpanāchārya.* (Establisher of the Kākatiya kingdom).[8] It is true that this account says that P r a s ā d ā d i t y a placed R u d r a m a on the throne on the death of Gaṇapati, but we should not, I think, interpret this literally. The statements in the present inscription that Gaṇapati and Rudrama made simultaneous grants and that Rudrama made her grant with the permission of Gaṇapati cannot, in my opinion, be satisfactorily explained except on the supposition that Gaṇapati abdicated in S. S. 1182. I am aware of no other piece of evidence to support this theory of abdication; at the same time there is nothing I am aware of which militates against that theory. It is to be hoped that future investigations will throw fresh light on this point.

The following geneology of the Kakatiya family is based on all the materials available up to date:—

P r ō l a I.
son
Tribhuvana-Malla-Bēta.
son
P r ō l a II.
m Muppama.

son R u d r a I. | *son* M a h ā d ē v a.

son G a ṇ a p a t i. *m.* Sōmaladēvī.

daughter Gaṇapamadēvī *m.* Kōṭa Bētarāja of Amarāvati. | *daughter* R u d r a m a d ē v ī.

daughter Mummadāmba,
son P r a t ā p a r u d r a
Adopted by Rudrama as son.

8. ఆప్రసాదాదిత్యుండు కాకతిగణపతిదేవరాయలు చనితే అతని కొమార్తె రుద్రమ దేవిని పట్టముగట్టి కాకతిరాజ్య స్థాపనాచార్య బిరుదున్ను రాయపితామహాంక బిరుదున్ను దెచ్చి యుద్ధమునాయంకులగా నొనరించి భైరవ వరప్రసాద లబ్ధంబగు ఫచ్ఛధరించి వెగడెమ్మహిని.

Pratāparudra was practically the last of the race. After him, the kingdom became dismembered. The central portion was occupied by Mahommedans, while the outlying provinces were seized by the local chiefs such as the Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu and Velamas of Rāchakoṇḍa, who set up small independent principalities of their own.

The inscription gives an interesting account of the Saiva institution called the *Gōlaki maṭha* in the Dāhala country, lying between the Ganges and the Narmadā. The founder of this monastery was one Sadbhāva Śambhu who obtained a gift of three lacks of villages (or was it a villages fetching an income of *Nishkas* (coins) ?) from the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadēva and gave away those villages to the *Maṭha* as an endowment. In the line of the Kalachuri kings there were two Yuvarājadevas, *viz.*, Kēyūravarsha-Yuvarājadēva I. and his grandson Yuvarājadēva II. The former seems to have ruled at about A. D. 930 and the latter till about A. D. 1000. We do not know at present which was of these was the donor of the three lacks of villages to the *Gōlaki maṭha*. In either case we may hold that the monastery was founded the middle or the close of the 10th century A. D, The successor of Sadbhāva Śambhu was Sōma Śambhu, the author of the *Sōmaśambhu-paddhati*, a work on *Śaivāgama*. Sōma Śambhu was succeeded by Vāma Śambhu, "whose feet were embellished by the row of the crowns of kings, and are now even meditated upon by the Kalachuri kings". (ll 66—67) In the Benares Copper-Plate Inscription of Kalachuri king Karṇadēva (about 1042 A. D.) the king is described as "meditating on the feet of *Parama bhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēs'vara* Śrī Vāmadēva".[9] Professor Kielhorn who edited that inscription says that this description is applied to no less than five klngs of the Kalachuri family in different inscriptions and that he is unable to explain its significance, From the kingly titles applied to Vāmadēva, Professor Kielhorn thinks that he must have been one of the early kings of the family, but could not trace that name in any published list, From the description of Vāmaśambhu given in the present inscription, it seems to me that Vāmadēva was identical with Vāmaśambhu,

At the end of some interval, after Vāma Śambhu came Kīrti Śambhu, who was succeeded by Vimala Śambhu of the Kēraḷa country. Vimala Śambhu was succeeded by Dharma Śiva, and he was followed by Viśvēsvara Śiva, who came from the village Pūrvagrāma in the Gauḍa-Rāḍhā country. Viśvēśvara Śiva was the spiritual *guru* of Gaṅapatidēva and seems to have wielded considerable influence over him. The Telugu poem *Sōmadēvarājīyam* and the

9 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II. p. 297 ff.

Chronicle *Pratāpacharitram* published in the *Journal of the Telugu Academy* (vol. IX.) mention a certain Ś i v a d ē v a y y a as the chief adviser of Gaṇapatidēva. I have no doubt that this Śivadēvayya was the same as Viśvēśvara Śiva.

D a h a l a or D ā h a l a was another name for the C h ē d i country of which the capital was T r i p u r ī (modern Tivur, not far from Jubbalpore), and it is said that in this city there used to be a *maṭha* called the *G ō l a k i m a ṭ h a*, from the name on which it was situated.

Finally the inscription affords a insight into the rural economy of the Andhra country in the 13th century A. D. We are told that Viśvēśvara Śiva amalgamated the two villages granted to him and established an *agrahāra* called V i ś v ē ś v a r a G ō l a k i, in which he founded a temple to god Viśvēśvara, a *Śaiva-maṭha,* a choultry for feeding all classes of persons, from the *brāhmaṇ* down to the *chaṇḍāla*, (*ārabhya viprānaṇnivāritaṇām chaṇḍala paryantam=upāgataṇām*), a General Hospital (*Ārōgya-s'ālā*) a maternity home (*Prasuti s'ālā*) and a College for the teaching of the several branches of Sanskrit learning. The village was peopled by *sixty* brahmin families imported from Tamil (Drāviḍa) country. It is to be presumed, perhaps, that these families followed the *Kālānana* (*Kālāmukha*) form of Saivism which was represented by Viśvēśvara Śiva, and they had to be brought down from the Tamil country as brahmins of this sect were not then available in the Telugu country. In addition to these there were brahmins well versed in the three *Vēdas*, in grammar, in logic, and in general literature and five others skilled in philosophy. Evidently these constituted the professorial staff of the College. The village had also a physician and an accountant (*kāyastha*), six brahmin servants were provided for the choultry and the *maṭha*, two for cooking and four performing other miscellaneous duties. Ten persons bearing the appellation *V ī r a b h a d r a s* were appointed as guardians of the village (*grāmasya rakshakāh*), and they were to perform certain duties such as cutting of testicles, heads and stomachs (*bījachchēda S'irachchēda kukshi chchēdi karmabhiḥ*). I imagine that these were punishments prescribed by law in those days for certain hienous offences and that a particular class of persons were appointed to carry out those punishments. In addition to the *Vīrabhadras* there was a staff twenty *Vīramushtis* as peons *bhaṭāh*. The village was also provided with a set of ten artisans, consisting of a goldsmith, a copper-smith, a blacksmith, a carpenter *karu* a stone-mason, a maker of stone images *s'ilpi* a basket-maker *vaṃs'akārakah*, a potter and a barber headed by a master artisan *sthapati*,

The temple establishment consisted of ten dancing-girls, eight persons to play on musical instruments of various sorts, fourteen singers *gayinyuh*, six persons for beating drums etc., and a kashmirian whose duties are not stated.[10] A number (not specified) of brahmins from Visvēśvara Śiva's native village, were employed to keep accounts of the income and expenditure of the village and the temple.

All the above-named persons were assigned lands for their emoluments and they were allowed to enjoy those lands from generation to generation with all rights of ownership. Women could inherit the land and get their duties performed by deputies. To supervise the administration of the Charity a superintendent *āchārya* was appointed with an allowance *āchārya bhōgam* of one hundred *nishkas* (a year presumably). Viśvēśvara Śiva retained for himself the power of supreme control over the whole of this establishment and over the temple and the village generally,

Those that performed their respective duties honestly were to enjoy the fruit of bathing in all the sacred waters, of performing *japa* and *tapas* of various kinds and of worshipping all the gods: Those who on the contrary neglected their duties and otherwise obstucted the proper administration of this Charity were to become foodless during the rest of their lives, and be consigned to the eighteen kinds of Hell after death. So declared Viśvēśvara Śiva after bathing in the river Krishna on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

The concluding portion of the inscription gives a long list of charities established by Viśvēśvara Śiva in other parts of the Telugu country.

The land given to the donees is expressed in terms of a *putti* or *puttika* as measured by the standard measuring rod of Penumbāka (*Penumbaka prasiddhēna manadandēna sommitam).* In its primary sense *putti* means a specific quantity of grain which varies from district to district, A *putti* of land is the extent required for showing a *putti* of seed. The word is not now used in the Guntur district in this sense. It is used in the Gōdāvari district as equivalent to eight acres.

10 Probably he was the instructor in instrumental music.—Ed

TEXT.

First Side.

1 (ओं ।*) स्वस्ति श्रीः (।*) वितरतु भगवानसौ श्रियं वः करि प

2 दनो हरि नीलभासि यस्य । द्युतिवर सरसि स्फुरत्त

3 रंग श्रियमधिकामाळि पंक्तयो वहन्ति ॥ जय

4 तीन्दोः कलाखेलतु गंगाम्भः कणदन्तुरैः । करैःकरोति या श

5 म्भोर्म्मूर्द्ध्निमुक्तावलि श्रियं ॥ हरिरवतु किरि तनुर्व्वो

6 (भु)वमुद्धोढुंग तस्य वरुणपुरिं । यस्याखिल जलधि ज

7 लं पाद्यायाभूदनर्घ्याय ॥ जयति भगवानुस्वय

8 म्भू र्गणपतिनृपते हृदिस्थित स्सततं । यत्कारुण्य कटा-

9 क्षैर्वृद्धिं प्राप्तान्ध्रदेशश्रीः ॥ अस्ति स्वस्तिमती तनुर्भ्भगवतो

10 देवस्य तस्या स्फुरन्नाभि पङ्कज संभवस्य भुजतो भूवल्लभा ज-

11 ज्ञिरे । तेषांतिग्म मरीचि सन्तति भुवो येदुर्ज्जयाः क्षत्रियास्तेषा

12 मस्तिकुलं कलङ्करहितं श्रीकाकती भूभुजां ॥ वीर स्तस्मा द-

13 जनि रजनिनाथवद्दुग्धसिन्धोः कीर्त्तिर्ज्योत्स्ना भरितभुवनः प्रोल भूपाल

14 नामा । राजन्यस्मिन्कमपि नृपतिं राजशब्दाभिधेयन्नैवास्नौ

15 त्म त्रिजगतिविना यामिनीकामिनीशं । कीर्त्ति र्य्यस्य हिमेन्दुकुन्द विश

16 दामूर्त्ति र्ज्जनानन्दिनी दानं विश्वजनार्त्ति हारिचरितं गंगापयः

17 पावनं । चित्तं शम्भु पदारविन्दयुगलध्यानामृत क्षालितं शौ

18 र्य्यं विष्वगरातिदुर्मदहरं धामापि धामश्रियः ॥ रुद्र

19 देवस्ततो जातो यत्कीर्त्या भूरलंकृता । प्रतिपक्षमहीपा

20 ल यशोनिर्म्माल्य मुज्झति ॥ राजानः कतिवानसन्ति सुभटास्सं-

21 क्रांत विक्रान्तयस्ते तिष्ठन्तु तमेकमेव शृणुमश्शूरेषु रुद्र-

22 म् नृपं । यस्यासीदसिदारितारि नृपति श्रेणी शिरः कन्दुक क्रीडाम्रेडि

23 त विक्रमायुधि जयश्रीः प्रेयसी स्थेयसी ॥ एक एव धनुर्व्वीरो रुद्रदेवो म-

24 हीभुजां । सुरेश्वराणां सर्वेषां पिनाकेव धनुष्मतां ॥ अथानुज-

25 स्तस्य महीं शशास धीरो महादेवनृपो महौजाः । प्रताप दीपाः

26 प्रतिपक्षभाजां शाम्यन्ति यच्छौर्य्य कथानिलेन ॥ कुन्देन्दु चन्दन

27 सखः कुमुदस्य मित्रं स्वर्सिन्धु सिन्धुर तुरंग रुचां सनाभिः ।

28 कर्प्पूरहारहरहासपयः पयोधि बन्धुर्व्विभाति यदुदार-
29 यशोविलासः ॥ तस्यायं तनयस्त्रयीमयतोर्द्देवाद्भवानीपतेर्ल्ल-
30 (ब्धः) क्ष्मां समपालयतु गणपतिः क्ष्मापाल चूडामणिः । यस्मि-
31 न्विस्मयकारि विक्रमकथाधारामुचिश्रीघने पृथ्वीदुष्टदुरीःदावदह
32 न प्राप्तां रुजं मुञ्चति ॥ दर्प्पोधन्वनिमत्सरो रणजये धार्ष्ट्यं द्विपारो-
33 हणे । क्रौर्य्यं शौर्य्यविधौ तुरंगदमने चापल्यमाशायुधि । क्रोधोदुष्ट
34 जनेभयं द्विजधना लोभश्च धर्म्मार्ज्जने पूजाकर्म्मणि शांकरे गणपतिक्षोणी
35 पतेराग्रहः ॥ कोदण्डोच्चण्डवेगव्यथित करिहयव्रातपृथ्वीशसैन्यं किं ब्रूम
36 श्चोण्डिमानं गणपति नृपतेर्ब्बाहुदण्डद्वयस्य । अद्याप्युद्दामदर्प्पा दुपर
37 त पृतनाकोटि कंकूलकूटप्रक्रीडतु प्रेत यूथव्यतिकरविषमभू
38 मयोभीषयन्ते ॥ कतिकतिनसन्ति भूपाः कतिकतिगुणगणा भ-
39 रणाः । गणपतिनृपति स्त्वेको नरपतिशतपोषकः क्षोण्यां ॥ निस्साणरव
40 सन्त्रस्ताः क्षणाद्गणपते नृपाः । अपित्यजन्तिदुर्ग्गाणि नदारानेव केव
41 लं॥ रुद्रदेवि समुद भूत्चरण्या त्सर्व्वभूभृतां । गंभीरान्महत
42 स्तस्माल्लक्ष्मी रत्नाकरादिव ॥ सर्व्वोर्व्वीश किरीटकुट्टिमतटीविन्यस्त पादाम्बुजा शा
43 स्त्येषा चतुरम्बुराशिरशनां श्रीरुद्रदेवी भुवं । यस्या जन्ममहोत्सवो
44 गणपतेः क्ष्मापाल चूडामणे र्व्विष्फूर्ज्जत्कलिकाल कल्मष कथाध्वान्तौघ
45 तेजोनिधेः ॥ साम्राज्येखलवर्ज्जितं विरचिते श्रीरुद्रदेव्या स्वयं चातुर्व्व
46 र्ण्ये निजस्थितिर्व्विजयते विद्रातिकालःकलिः. (।*) धर्म्मासौ भगवान्विभातिदुरितं
47 दूरेद्विजानां द्विषस्तन्नामग्रह भीषिता निजपुरान्निर्य्यान्ति पर्य्याकु
48 लाः ॥ आक्रामन्तितरत्तरंगाविगल दुग्धाब्धि फेनावली राचामन्ति शरत्छ
49 शाङ्क विसरदुज्योत्स्ना प्रवाहामृतं । आकर्षन्ति सुरेन्द्र दन्तिदशन
50 प्राग्भार लग्नां श्रियम्मुक्ताहार लतायिताः प्रतिदिशं रुद्राम्बिका
51 कीर्त्तयः ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वरदेशिकेन्द्र शिवहस्तोसि दोर्व्विक्रमात्रिक्षोणिश
52 जगद्दलः प्रतिबल प्रध्वंसि जन्मोत्सवः । यस्याः काकति वंशमौक्तिक
53 मणेश्रीरुद्रदेव स्सुत स्तस्याः किंकथयाम वैभव मत श्रीरुद्रदेव्या
54 : परं ॥ अस्ति विश्वम्भरासारः कमलाकुलमन्दिरं । भागीरथी नर्म्मद
55 योर्म्मध्यं डहलमण्डलं ॥ उग्रं तत्र तपश्चरन्नियम य-
56 न्बाह्येन्द्रिय क्रीडनं सान्द्रानन्दमये समाधिसमये
57 चित्तेन लीनश्शिवे । नीत्वा कालमनन्तमन्तकजयी सद्भावशंभु

58 म्गृरुर्द्दुर्वासोन्वय संभवस्सुचरितः प्राबुद्धपुण्यैर्न्नपाणां ॥ शैवाना

59 मू प्रथमाय शंकरपदध्यानामृताम्भोनिधि क्रीडाम्रेडन कर्म्म निर्म्म

60 ल तरस्वान्ताय शान्तात्मने । तस्मैनिस्पृह चेतसे गलचुरिक्ष्मापालचू

61 डामणिर्ग्रामाणां युवराजदेव नृपतिर्भिक्षान्नि लक्षींददौ ॥ कृत्वा

62 स शैवमुनिरद्भुतशीलमूर्त्ति श्रीगोलकीमठ मुदारमुदात्तचित्तः ।

63 (त*) स्याकरस्य नृपदेशिकमौक्तिकानां वृत्तिं चकार सकलामपि तां त्रिलक्षीं

64 ॥ प्राचीन पुण्य परिपाकवशात्प्रजानामाविर्बभूव भगवानिह सो-

65 मशंभुः । नाम्नानिजेन सकलागमसिन्धुसेतुं यः पद्धतिंकरुण

66 या प्रतिमां बबन्ध ॥ अथ नृपशेखर मालालालित पादोत्र वामशं

67 भुरभूत् । अद्यापि कलचुरीशा यच्चरणाराधकाः प्रशस्यन्ते ॥ लब्ध-

68 देशिक पदा मनोहरा भूरिदान परितोषितार्त्थिनः । यत्र मत्तकरि

69 णोपि कुर्व्वते पाशभेद मिह्भद्र जातयः ॥ तास्मिन्मठे तस्य गुरो र्बभूवु

70 श्शिष्याः प्रशिष्याश्च परसहस्राः विनिग्रहीतुं समनुग्रहीतुं क्षोणी

71 श्वरान्दक्ष कटाक्षपातैः ॥ इत्थं कालेयाति सत्संप्रदाये सन्तानेस्मिन्न

72 र्त्थिसन्तानकल्प शैवाम्भोधे श्शक्ति शंभो रुदाराच्छिष्य श्रीमान्कीर्त्तिशंभुर्ब्बभूव ॥

73 चिलिप आचार्य्युलु शांत्तोजुकोडुकु गुड्डोजुनकु ख २ । अक्कसाल बैय्य

74 पोजुकोडुकु प्रोलोजुनकु ख १। श्रीमतु राचगुरुदेवरआनातिक्रममुन श्रीम

75 तु काशीश्वरशिवाअय्यंगरु सानिम्रित्तलु पेट्टिन वैथिनमु ॥ प्रोलांडिशेट्टिकूंतुఌ
काम्मलअक्क

76 सानिकि ख१ तु१०। नल्लदेविशेट्टिकुंत्तुఌ नलमरसानिकि ख १ तु१०। समयमंत्रिकुंत्तु

77 ఌ विश्वेश्वरमाणिख्यनकु ख१ तु १०। आंडरिकुंत्तुఌ गोळगिरिमाणिख्यनकु ख१ तु१०

78 वीरभद्र वैथिरगि आंडारिकि ख १ तु १० । संकु (वे) न्नजीयकु मलेकु तु १९। वेमन

79 जियनि कुंत्तुఌ कोमसानिकि ख (१*) तु १० । प्रोलेबोय कुंतुఌ कोमसानिकि
ख १ तु १० त्रट्ट

80 (पा*)मुकोमसानिकि ख १ तु १०। त्रट्टपामु गुड्डसानिकि ख १ तु १०। वेन्नसानिकूंतु

81 ఌ तल्लसानिकि त्रित्ति ख १ न १०। नडपल्लेमल (न) मनुमఌलु पात्रटसानि

82 कि ख १ न १० । सूर्य्यदेवानि कूंतुఌ तिरुमुत्तसाकिनि ख १ न १० । वेलंकहंडि

83 श्री सोमनाथदेवरकु ख २। अस्तनपचित्रिपुर चियपिल्ल प्रदिंडि चिन गणेश्वरुनिकि न२

84 श्री विश्वनाथदेवर गुडि पनिचेसि का (न)

85 से (आ) सोजुनकु ख १ नन्नपोजु

86 नकु ख १ (।) पोन्नेाजुनकु ख १ (।*)
87 ... ... ण्डि कूंत्रुलु मोद्लमकु गो कन नों
88 ... ... कन न १० (।*) श्रीविश्वनाथ देवर
89 ... ... मांडिकि केसरि ख १ (।*) विरिगा
90 ... ... निकि केसरि ख १ (।*) लोको... ... (॥*)

Second Side.

1 प्रणाम व्यालोल त्कलचुरिमहीपालपरिषत्किरीट प्रक्रीडत्किरण कलिकाला-
2 लित पदाः । यशः पूरस्स्वेर स्तबकितदिशः केरलभवास्तटः पद्मावासा विम-
3 ळ शिवपादा स्समभवन् ॥ निर्वैरमुर्व्यां कलिकालमध्येस्थातुं पदाभ्या(मू*)
4 कुतुकीव धर्म्मः । शिष्यःकृपा कन्दलितान्तरात्मा तेषामभूद्धर्म्मशिवोमुनी
5 न्द्रः ॥ यं कृपानिधिमुदारवैभवं धर्म्मशम्भुमखिलार्त्ति भञ्जनं ; एक व
6 क्त्रकमलं सदाशिवं संकथा सुकृतिनः प्रचंक्षते ॥ अध्येता निगम्यस्य धर्म्मतन
7 यश्श्रीगौडराडोल्लसत्पूर्व्वग्रामशिखामणि र्गणपतिक्ष्मापाल दीक्षागुरुः (।*)
8 क्षीराब्धेरिवचन्द्रमाः श्शशिकलामौलेर्य्यथा षण्मुखः श्रीविश्वेश्वरशम्भु रु
9 ग्रतपस श्रीधर्म्मशम्भोरभूत् ॥ चिरं पृथ्वी पालावली मकुट घृष्टांघ्रि कमलद्वयो
10 विद्यावल्ली वलय कलना , कल्पकतरुः । सदादान्तस्वान्त स्थिरतरोलसद्धूर्जजटी
11 महामहाशान्तः कान्तो जयति भुवि विश्वेश्वराशिवः ॥ श्रीचोलेश्वर मालव
12 क्षितिपती राजन्यचूडामणी यत्छिष्यौ किमतः परं गणपतिक्षोणीपति र्य्य-
13 त्सुतः । नस्यात्कस्यमुदेसदेशिक वरश्शैवागमाम्भोनिधिः श्रीविश्वेश्वरदेशिकः कल
14 चुरिक्ष्मापाल दीक्षागुरुः ॥ गौडाः पूर्ण्ण मनोरुथाः कति कति प्राप्त श्रिय
15 स्तापसा स्सन्तुष्टाः कविपुङ्गवाः कति कति प्रध्वस्तपाशानृपाः । येतस्मिन्
16 गणपत्यधीश गुरुता सिंहासनाध्यासिनि श्रीविश्वेश्वरदेशिके शिवपुरी विश्रा
17 णनश्लाघिनि ॥ त्वंगत्पिंग जटा किरीटमुदय स्मेरारविन्दाननं मुक्ताकुण्डल
18 ताडितांस शिखरं हरैर्म्मनोहारिणां । विद्यामण्डपवर्त्तिनं गणप
19 तिक्ष्मापाल दीक्षागुरुं श्रीविश्वेश्वरशम्भु मीक्षितवतां तेचक्षुषी चक्षुषी
20 ॥ लोहः कोयं शकस्याब्दे दुर्म्मतौवत्सरेशुभे । चैत्रेसितेतराष्टम्यां वा-
21 रे शुक्राभिधानके । विषये वेलिनाडाख्ये कण्ड्रवाट्यां विशेषतः । यदुत्त
22 रेण वहति कृष्णवेणी महानदी ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वर शम्भवे गणपतिक्षोणीश्वरेण।

23 दराद्ग्रामं मन्दर नामधेय मखिलै र्व्वाग्दत्त मार्यैस्समं । तत्पु

24 त्री तदनुज्ञया पशुपतेः श्रीरुद्रदेवीपुरः प्रादाद्ग्राम वेलंगपूण्डि स

25 हितं सीमाष्टकेनावृतं ॥ अष्टस्वाम्येन सहितं धारापूर्व्वं सकर्षकं । कृ-

26 ष्णवेणी नदीमध्य गतया लङ्कयासह ॥ तस्यग्रामस्य सीमानः कथ्यन

27 ते । पूर्व्वतः क्रामात् । परिज्ञनाय सर्व्वेषां भाषयान्ध्रया स्फुटार्त्थ

28 या । पूर्व्वस्यां पेनुंबाक दिक्कु मेडलि ఱపुंगाल्व पोलमेर । आ

29 ग्नेय्यां । ताण्डिनुण्डि वच्चिन मद्दिमड्डु काल्व पोलमेर । दक्षिण स्या

30 म् । कट्टुंगोम्मु काल्व पोलमेर । नैरुत्यां । उप्पलपाटि चेఱवु पड्डम

31 टि कोम्मुरात्रिपूण्डि वेलंगपूण्डि पोलमुसन्दु पोलमेर । पश्चि-

32 मायां । मन्दरानकूनु वेलंगपूण्डिकिनि पड्डमटि रावि

33 पूण्डि पोलमुलोनि नल्लदुम्म (।*) उत्तरमु पेनुंबडिय पोलमु

34 सन्दु पोलमेर । वायव्यां । पेरकम्मनुण्डि वेड्लिन इन्मुंगालिकाल्व

35 तल पोलमेर । अदिमोदलु ईशानपर्य्यंतमु कृष्णवेणिये पोलमेर ।

36 अयिशान्यां । कृष्णवेणिनुंडि पेनुंबाक रड्डि त्रव्विंचिन काल्व तल पोलमेर ।

37 रावियूंडिकि ऐशान्यमु । मन्दरानकूनु वेलं(ग*) पूण्डिकिन्नि वायव्य-

38 मु पेरकम्मनुंडि वच्चिन पायेटितल पड्डुमटिसमिगानु मंदर

39 पु लंक ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वरदेव मिंदुकलिकाचूडं मठं शाश्वतं सत्रंवि

40 श्वजनाग्रहार सहितं सुस्थाप्य नित्योर्जितं । श्रीविश्वेश्वर गोलकी त्यभिध-

41 यातं ग्राम मत्यादरात् श्रीविश्वेश्वर स्समयुज स्त्री गाडचू

42 डामणिः ॥ नानागोत्र समुद्भूता द्राविडा येद्विजोत्तमाः । परस्प

43 रं प्रकुर्व्वणाः क्रय विक्रय मादिकं ॥ षष्टि संख्या विशि भ्यः प्रत्येकं

44 पुट्टिकाद्वयम् । पेनुम्बाक प्रसिद्धेन मानदण्डेन सम्मितं स्थित्युपाधि म

45 दात्तेभ्य श्रीविश्वेश्वरदेशिकः ॥ एतत् क्षेत्रंतु पुट्टिनां विंशत्या भ्यधिकं श

46 तं । वेलंगपूण्डिसहितं दत्तं मन्दरनामनि ॥ त्रिधा विभज्य तस्मि

47 ष्टमेकं भागं पिनाकिने । विद्यार्त्थिभ्यो परं भागं शुद्ध शैवमठाय

48 च ॥ प्रसूत्यारोग्यशालाभ्यां विप्रसत्राय चेतरं । प्रादाद्विश्वेश्वराशि

49 व इशैव सिद्धान्त पारगः । ऋग्यजुस्साम वेदानां सम्यगध्यापकास्त्र
50 यः । पदवाक्यप्रमाणानां साहित्यस्यागमस्यच ॥ पंचव्याख्या कृ
51 तो वैद्य कायस्थौ द्वौ विचक्षणौ । दशानानामपि चैतेषां प्रत्येकं पुट्टिका
52 द्वयं ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वरदेवस्य नर्त्तक्योदशसंख्यया । मुखरीद्वय संयुक्ता
53 अष्टामद्दलवादकाः ॥ अष्टादशना मेतेषां प्रत्येकं सार्ध्दपुट्टिका । ए
54 कः काश्मीरदेशीयो गायिन्यश्चतुर्दश ॥ करडा वादनाद्येषु कृत्येषु रस
55 संख्यया । पाचकौ द्वौ द्विजन्मानौ चत्वारः परिचारकाः ॥ तथैवषट्समा
56 ख्याता ब्रह्मणामठसत्रयोः । चातुर्व्वर्ण्य समुद्भूता जटिला श्चोड दे-
57 शजाः । बीजच्छेद शिरच्छेद कुक्षिच्छेदादि कर्म्मभिः । वीरभद्रसमाख्याता दशग्रा
58 मस्यरक्षकाः ॥ भटा स्युरपरे भक्ता विंशति र्व्वीरमुष्टयः । सुवर्ण्ण ताम्र
59 पाषाण वंशाय स्कुम्भकारकाः ॥ एते स्थपति संयुक्ता कारुनापित
60 शिल्पिनः । दशस्वकृत्यं कुर्व्वाणौ भटास्यु र्व्वीरमुष्टिभिः ॥ त्रिसप्ततिर्म्मनुष्या
61 णां कल्पितात्वेक पुट्टिका । प्रत्येकं पूर्व्वं मुक्तानामारामार्थं च सर्व्व
62 तः ॥ प्रादात् षोडशकं भागन्निवर्त्तन मितक्षितेः । गौडदक्षिण राढीय पू
63 र्व्वग्राम समुद्भवाः ॥ श्रीवत्सगोत्रिणोये सुब्राह्मणा स्सामवेदिनः
64 एतेभ्य स्त्रिंशतं पुट्टिरदा द्राजगुरुस्तथा ॥ एता एते प्रभुं जाना
65 ग्रामस्यायव्ययादिकं । अनुसंद धतां सर्व्वं सम्यग्लेखन पू
66 र्व्वकं ॥ इत्याहत्यशतं सार्थं पुट्टिकानां प्रकल्पितं । तिष्ठतामेव स
67 र्व्वेषां स्वे स्वे कर्म्माणि वृत्तयः ॥ भवस्याचन्द्र तारार्क मन्यथा न भवन्ति वा
68 पुत्राभावे स्त्रियोप्येषां कुलाचार समन्विताः । कारयन्त्य स्वकर्म्माणि क्षे
69 त्रारामादि भुञ्जतां ॥ क्षेत्राणि शिष्टान्यखिलानि देवदेवांग भोगालय
70 मुख्यकृत्ये ॥ उपेयुषां शैवतपोधनानां कालाननानां शिवशासनाना
71 म ॥ विद्यार्त्थिनां पाशुपतव्रताना मप्यन्नवस्त्रादि समर्पणाय । आ
72 रभ्य विप्रा ननिवारितानां चण्डालपर्य्यंत मुपागतानां ॥ अन्न
73 प्रदानाय च सर्व्वकालमकल्पय द्राज गुरुर्महात्मा । देवस्य सत्र
74 स्य मठस्य तस्यग्रामस्य सर्वस्य च सोधिकारी ॥ येा गोलकी वंश्य कृताभिषे-

75 क श्शान्त श्शुचि श्शैव रहस्यवेदी । शैवागमनामपि पारगामी सन्तान

76 पाळ स्समलोष्टहेमा ॥ सर्वाणि भूतान्यनुकंपमान स्समस्त विद्या

77 सुकृतावगाहः । महीसुर श्शीलवतां पुरोगो भवत्तरां नैष्टिक देशि

78 केन्द्रः । विश्वेश्वर शिवाचार्य्यो धीमा त्राजगुरु स्वयं । एव माज्ञाप

79 य द्धीर शैवाचार्य्य शतैर्वृतः ॥ आन्ध्रेषु स्थानपतयश्च षट्कर्म्माण स्तपोधनाः ॥*

Third Side.

1 सांतानिकाश्च सर्वेत्र साक्षिभूता भवन्तु ते ॥ श्रीविश्वेश्वरगोळक्या-

2 माचार्य्यत्वे प्रतिष्ठितः । एतत्सर्वं सदाचारः परिपाल्योर्जितं

3 सदा ॥ निष्काणां शतमाचार्य्य भोगं भुञ्जीत देशिकः । उपे

4 क्षके स्मिन्‌॰दुर्वृत्तै प्रज्ञा * * भक्त * क्तु * * स्तं परित्यज्य सा

5 न्तानिक मथापरं । द * * * त * * ता * * हा या रक्षका-

6 स्तथा ॥ सर्वतीर्त्थ फलं सर्वजपहोमफलं तथा । सर्वदेवार्च्च

7 नफलं प्राप्नुवन्त्यत्र मानवाः ॥ विरुद्धाविघ्नकर्त्तारः क्षेत्रद्र

8 व्यापहारिणः । त्रिसप्तकुलजै स्सार्ध मत्र पानाद्यभावतः ॥ दरि

9 द्राः प्रेत्य रौद्रीश्च प्राप्यष्टादश दुर्ग्गतीः । दुःखान्यनुभविष्यन्ति

10 महान्तीति महातपाः ॥ विश्वेश्वर शिवाचार्य्य स्सदाचारै स्तपोध-

11 नैः । ब्राह्मणैरप्य संख्येयैर्ग्रस्ते स्वर्भानुना रवौ । कृष्णवेण्यां म

12 हानद्यां स्नात्वाऽचम्य विधानतः । एवं पापकृतां शापं प्रादात्पुण्य कृता

13 म् वरं ॥ कृत्वा काळीश्वराख्येपुरे उपलमठं पोन्नग्रामाग्रहारं कृत्वा

14 विश्वेश्वरशिव उरुधीर्द्दत्तवान् सर्वसाक्षि । निर्म्माय स्वाख्य लिङ्गम्मठ मपि

15 नगरेमन्द्रकूटाभिधाने मानेपल्यू द्रुपील्ल द्वयमद दत सदैव स-

16 त्र द्वयाय ॥ नाम्नाप्येन स चन्द्रवल्लि नगरेलिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सन् कञ्चे

17 पल्लि तटाकसेतु मधिकं कृत्वार्द्ध मस्मा अदात् । कृत्वानन्दपदे स्वनाम नग-

18 रं प्रतिष्ठाप्य चाप्यानन्दं मुनिकूटमप्यथ पुरं देवस्य भुक्त्या-

19 ॰अदात् । कोम्मूग्रामे स्वाख्यालिङ्ग प्रतिष्ठां कृत्वा त्रिंशत्खारि मात्रां म

20 हीं सः । निम्नक्षेत्रं पंचखारीमितं च प्रादाद्देवा यों गरंगोप भु

21 क्त्यै ।। श्रीशैलेशान्ये ईश्वरपुरि समठं च षोडशा वरकं अकरोत्ताच्छिष्योदाद्ग्रा-

22 मं गणपातिरवारि सत्राय ।। विषये पल्लिनाडाख्ये कण्डूकोटाभिधान

23 कं । आचार्य्य दक्षिणारूपं तस्मे व भक्त्या समार्प्पयत् ।। लिङ्गनिवृत्तौ नि

24 र्म्माय तद्ग्रेङ्गालान्तर स्थलिं । दुग्धालग्रामवन्यांशं पूनूरुग्राम

25 मप्यदात् ।। उत्तरसोमशिलायां लिङ्गं वैश्वेश्वरं प्रतिष्ठाप्य । ऐतप्रोल्ना-

26 मानं ग्रामं प्रादात्स देशिकश्रेष्ठः । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतु न्नृपाणा

27 म् काले काले पालनी यो भवार्द्भिः । सर्व्वा नेतान्भाविनः पार्त्थवेन्द्रा न्भू-

28 यो भूयोयाचते रामचन्द्रः ।। स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो ह

29 रेत वसुन्धरं । षष्टि वरुष सहस्राणि विष्टा जायते क्रिमि-

30 : ।। अस्य सर्व्वस्य धर्म्मस्य पालकस्य पदद्वयं । विश्वेश्वर शिवाचार्य्यो वहत्सन्यां

31 सहत्यलं ।। *

मंगळं महा श्री श्री *

A STONE INSCRIPTION IN THE CHAMPAKESVARA TEMPLE AT DIMILADA.

SRI SRI SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN
JAGADEB RAJAH BAHADUR.

There is a Śiva temple in dilapidated condition of common height in the village of Dimilāḍa, four miles to the east of Tekkali in the Ganjam district. At the entrance of the temple stands a stone with an inscription dated in S.S. 1063, corresponding to A.D. 1141. It records that *Mahārāja* Anantavarma, king of Kalinga granted perpetual lamps to the god. This denotes that the temple was in existence long before the grant of Anantavarma was made.

The village Dimilāḍa might have been called 'Dimilegoḍo' at the time of Anantavarma's grant. The meaning of the word 'goḍo' in Utkal language is 'fort.' The name of the village which adjoins Dimilāḍa is 'Divulopoḍoro'. The meaning of the word 'poḍoro' in Utkal langnage is 'dry land', i.e. land not useful for growing the paddy crop. This village might have been called by the name 'Divulopoḍoro' because the whole village was dry land and a temple was situated near the village. The village Dimilāḍa might have been called 'Divulogoḍo' by the time the temple was erected. The meaning of 'Divulogoḍo' in Oriya is 'fort' in which a temple exists. At this place one can see the ruins of an old fort even today. During the time of Anantavarma when this inscription was engraved, the village mlght have been called by the name of 'Dimiligoḍo',; and the following changes might have occured; thus *le* became *la*, *go* was omitted, and *do* became *da*, and thus the whole name became transformed into 'Dimilāḍa'.

Contrary to the usual style, of placing a *triśūla* or a trident on the summit of Śiva temple, we find here placed a *linga* or a phallic symbol. There is a stone inscription in fourteen lines on the southern wall of the temple. The characters belong to the southern type of alphabets, of the time of Anantavarma. The *S'ivalinga* which is here '*Sarpayajñasūtradhāra*, i.e. wearing a snake as a *yajñōpavīta* or sacred thread is broken in several places. The idol of *Durga* here, which usually finds a place in the S'iva temples, is also damaged to some extent.

The inscription on the stone reads as follows:—

1 Svasti! Śrī Dimile * * * Champakē
2 śvarakṛipāya[1] putra phalā—
3 ptārtham[2] * * * Krutisavalākhya
4 patnīsahita puṇyārjana
5 akhaṇḍalārti dīpau pañcha pra
6 jvalad- Anantavarma||
7 Svasti Śrī Śakavara Samvat
8 1063 Kanyāmāsa dvādasi||
9 * * * * * *
10 * ma sarpaya(jña sū)traḥ
11 Durgāksha patnī sahita
12 Champakēśva[3]* raha (angā)
13 rchana (lōbham) kṛitvā Kalinga (ṅga)
14 Rāya * * *

TRANSLATION.

"Anantavarma granted five lamps in perpetuity to god Śiva, called Champakēśvara in Dimiligcḍo village, after worshipping the deity, along with his wife Krutisavalā, with the desire to be blessed with a son, in S. S. 1063 which corresponds to 1141 A.D., on the 12th day of the solar month *Kanya*, i.e. the 12th day of Kārttika in the bright fortnight,— Siva adormed with *Sarpayojñasūtra* (a snake as sacred thread) was enshrined with his consort Durga in Kalinga *rājya*, so that *āryas* (civilized people) may have an opportunity to worship them".

In oldendays there was a fort and a town on this plot of land which was thickly populated. The deity Śiva was held probably in high esteem by the inhabitants of this place. It is therefore, that Anantavarma king of Kalinga, came hither accompanied by his royal consort Kritiśavalā being desirous of being blessed with a son, and woshipped Śiva who was called *Champakēs'vara.* There is a village called *Dipavali*, adjoining Dimiligcḍo or Dimilāḍa, which might have acquired its name on account of its having been granted for the purpose of maintaining the abovementioned five perpetual lamps granted by Anantavarma to god Champakēśvara. It is indeed interesting to note that at this time i.e. S. S. 1063, (A. D. 1141) Queen Kritisavalā brought forth a son 'Ananga Bhimadeb, who ascended the throne of Orissa in A.D. 1223 and reigned till 1239 A.D.

Read 1 kṛupayā, 2 ptyārtham, 3 S'iva.

STUDIES IN VIJAYANAGAR POLITY, (1336—1542 A.D.)

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I

THE EMPIRE.

Up to the end of the 13th century A.D., the History of Southern India was the history of petty hindu kingdoms which were waging constant wars with each other, to establish the supremacy of the one over the other. But the attempt was a dismal failure for sometime. The successive invasions° into the south by the Muhammadans who were allured by the fabulous wealth of the South Indian Kingdoms and who wanted to subjugate the same and make them the part of their extensive empire from the Āryāvarta downwards, made the South Indian Chieftains to girdle their loins and stand against the formidable foe from the North. The times needed heroes and they were found in the illustrious brothers, Harihara and Bukka, who founded on the southern banks of the river Tungabhadra, a city called Vijayanagar, *the city of Victory*, which later on grew into a magnificient capital both in the magnitude of its size and marvellous prosperity, and excelled the European as well as any Indian capitals of the day. It formed the nucleous of the famous Vijayanagar Empire which flourished between the 14th and the 16th centuries. Bounded on the north by the river Krishṇavēṇi, the south by the Cape Comorin, the east by the Bay of Bengal, and the west by the Arabian Sea, it formed a bulwark against the Muhammadans from the north for three centuries.

The condition of the Southern India had undergone a marvellous change from the day the Empire was firmly built, and peace and prosperity reigned. It was an irony of fate that the Empire which was found to withstand the Muhammadan advance from the north, subsequently succumbed to the followers of the Crescent in the middle of the 16th century.

In the following pages, an attempt is made to present to the student of the South Indian History, an account of the polity that existed in the famous Empire, with a comparative account of the present day administration.

The monarchs of the Empire were the lords of the whole territory that stretched between the river Krishṇavēṇi on the north, Ceylon on the south, the Bay of Bengal on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west. In one or two inscriptions of the Vijayanagar Emperors, there was *indication that the island of Ceylon was also brought under their* sway.[1] Thus we find that the Empire comprised the whole of the present Madras Presidency and the Native States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin. The Capital of this vast territory lay in one of its northern most corners.

The divisions of the Empire and the appointment of the Viceroys over the Provinces.

Certainly it was a very heavy task for a single ruler to govern these vast territories. In the interests of their power and the administration of the kingdom the emperors divided the extensive domains into several minor divisions called '*rājyamulu*' and appointed viceroys or *mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras* as rulers of the same. Thus during the time of Harihararāya I. we find that the Kingdom was divided into small domains like Udayagiri *rājyam*, Arahamalai *rājyam*, Mulavāyi *rājyam*, Hoysala *rājyam*, Tulu *rājyam* and the Mangalūru *rājyam*. Kampa was ruling the Udayagiri *rājyam* with its capital at Udayagiri[2], Marappa was ruling Arahamalai *rājyam* with its capital at Chandragutti[3], Muddappa was ruling the Mulavāi *rājyam* with its capital at Mulavāi[4] Bukkarāya was ruling Hoyalsala *Rājyam* with its capital at Dorasamudra[5]. The Tulu *rājyam* was ruled by one of Harihara's subordinates[6] and the Mangaluru *rājyam* by one of his ministers.[7] Generally the brothers of the emperors and the crown-princes were appointed as the viceroys, and the viceroyalty by the nearest kith and kin certainly was a strength to the emperor and formed a strong training ground for the successor to the throne. Thus we find that Bukka I. was the viceroy of the Hoyasala *rājyam* before he became the emperor. Dēvarāya I. was ruling the Udayagiri *rājyam* before he ascended the throne.[8] Vijaya Bukkarāya was one of the viceroys who became king.[9] Kumāra Kampa was the viceroy of Rājahgambhira *rājyam*, when that was conquered by him during his victorious

1 *Forgotton Empire*, p. 302. See also *Annual Report on Epigraphy 1903* Ep., No. 141. No 145 of 1906 claims the conquest of Ceylon by Krishnadêvarâya

2 *Ep, Ind.* vol. 111 p, 114.

3 *Nellore Ins.* p. 789, No. 28

4 *Ep, Carn.* Col. VIII Sh. 375

5 *Ep. Col.* No. 522 of 1906

6 *South Canara Manual* vol. II, p. 264

7 *Ep. Col.* No. 57 of 1901

8 *Nellore Inscriptions K.G.* 23.

9 *Ep. Carn.* vol. X, *Introduction* p. 35

campaign to the south.[10] One of the sons of Harihara II. *viz.* Virupaṇa conquered during his father's time, Chōḷa, Toṇḍira, and Pāṇḍya kingdoms and added the same to the Empire, and afterwards became the viceroy of the same.[11] Thus we find that the important posts under the Empire were held by the members of the royal family. But there was an exception too. When capable and trustworthy persons were found, they were also selected for the responsible post of the viceroyalty and we find that amongst those, that were selected were some noted Brahmins of the day. Mādhava Mantri, one of the great Brahmin ministers and generals of the day, was entrusted with the viceroyalty of Vanavāsi and the West Coast under Bukka I and Harihara II.[12] Another great general and minister who was not connected with the royal family was Lakshmaṇa Daṇḍanāyaka who was the viceroy of the Rājagambhīra *rājyam* under Dēvarēya II.[13] Apart from the names of the Viceroyalties that were mentioned above, we find the names of Aragaḍa *rājyam* and Barakūr *rājyam* during the time of the Vijayanagara Emperors. During the time of Krishṇarāya, when the king of Kalinga was defeated, the Koṇḍavīḍu *rājyam* with its capital, Koṇḍavīḍu, formed one of the seats of the Vijayanagar viceroyalties and was placed under his famous Prime Minister Sālva Timma and afterwards under the two illustrious nephews,[14] of the latter.

Viceroys, their Powers and Responsibilities.

The provincial governors or viceroys were supreme lords in their own territories. The principalities were a sort of '*imperier in imperium*' They were responsible for the maintenance of the law and order, peace and prosperity of the people. They were in their turn assisted by the ministers appointed by themselves. We come across illustrious ministers whom the viceroys were exceptionally fortunate in taking their counsel. Gōpana Mantri was the minister and general of Kumārakamparāya,[15] Mādhava Mantri was the minister of Mārappa.[16] The collection of revenue was entrusted to them and they had to pay to the Imperial Exchequer a certain percentage of the collections. There was no limit to the percentage so fixed, and Nuniz gives us a list of such contributions by the provincial governors during the time of Krishṇarāya. The provincial governors had to maintain a certain number of infantry, cavalry and a number of elephants in order to assist the emperor during the time of war and

10 *Ep, Carn.* vol. X Intro. p, 79
11 *Ep, Ind.* vol. III p. 224—230
12 *Ind. Ant.* vol, IV p. 206; *Ep. Carn.* vol. VIII, I. R. 46
13 *Ep, Con.* No. 128 of 1901
14 *Ep. Ind.* vol. VI p. 6. Almost the same political divisions existed under the later emperors. See *Archaeological Survey of India* 1908—09.
15 *A.S R,* 1907—07 p. 240
16 *Nellore Inscr.* No. 28 p. 789

to protect the empire from the external aggression.[17] Those who did not maintiain the necessary forces had to pay heavy contributions to the state.[18]

Name of the Governor or Minister.	*Income*	*Army to be maintained*	*Contributions.*
Sālva Timma (*Prime Minister*)	1,000,100 Pardos of Gold.	30,000 *Foot* 3,000 *Horse* 30 *Elephants*	1/3
Timmappa, (*Lord of Udayagiri* and *Kondavidu*)	800,000	25,000 *Foot* 1,500 *Horse* 40 *Elephants*	3/8
Kappa Naik	600,000	20,000 *Foot* 2,500 *Horse* 28 *Elephants*	1/4
Lāpa Naik	300,000	20,000 *Foot* 1,200 *Horse* 28 *Elephants*	3/8
Chinnappa Naik	300,000	10,000 *Foot* 800 *Horse*	1/3
Krishnappa Naik	20,000	700 *Foot* 560 *Horse*	7/20
Mallappa Naik	13,000	6,000 *Foot* 400 *Horse*	1/3
Adippa Naik	300,000	8,000 *Foot* 800 *Horse* 30 *Elephants*	2/15

Thus when the collection of revenue and the administration of the provinces was entrusted to the provincial satraps, corruption and coercion followed in its train. Evidences were there that these provincial satraps were cruel in their exactions and tormented the poor people, and in some cases even levied in excess over the legal dues.[19] The interference of the emperor was necessary to curb the evil system. Another interesting fact that was brought to light by one of the epigraphs is, that a system of taking presents was prevalent at the commencement of each reign from the poor ryots, and that the latter were harrassed by the ministers and that hence, the ryots had to emigrate to foreign lands.

17 *A Forgotten Empire*, p 386—390
18 *Sources of Vijayanagar History; and* page 130
19 *Ep. Col.* No. 92 of 1918; *Ep. Col. No.* 96 of 1918

This system was brought to the notice of the king Bukka II. who immediately put an end to this kind of extortion.[20]

(a) *Right of Independent Coinage.*

The provincial governors enjoyed the right of issuing their own coins. The Mangalure and Barakūru viceroys were allowed to issue their own coins and thus the Mangalure and Barakurū *gadyānas* came into existence.[21] Lakkana Dannaik who was one of viceroys under Dēvarāya II. issued a copper coin which had an elephant on the reverse and a letter '*L*' above it, and the obverse bore the legend '*mana*' '*danaya*' '*kam*', reading evidently the name of Lakshmaṇa Danaik[22]. But this system of independent coinage appears to have ceased under the later Vijayanagar Emperors.

(b) *Powers of Grant and Remission.*

These viceroys or provincial governors had the power of granting villages to temples and brahmins free of all taxes, sometimes with the consent of the King and some times on their own accord.[23] Fresh taxation was also levied by them. In a record dated *Śaka* 1283 it was stated that two ministers of Kampana Oḍeyar ordered the levy of certain duties in kind on some articles that passed through a district.[24]

(c) *Collection and Payment of Revenue.*

The extent of the territory to be ruled, the number of forces to be maintained, and the amount of revenue to be paid, all these were fixed by the King as shown by the list given above. The payment of revenue into the Imperial Exchequer was monthly. The settlement of the revenue etc. was always done during the month of Septemher (Āśvīyuja) i.e. during the Dasara celebrations. If the amount due was not paid as settled, the governors were punished and their property confiscated.[25] Certainly the viceroy could not collect the revenues in his domains himself in person, and so he naturally appointed subordinates or husbandmen to collect the same. The revenue collected by the husbandmen and other subordinates, who were so appointed for its collection, was paid to the viceroy and it formed 9/10 out of the general collections.[26]

(d) *Other Responsibilities.*

The viceroys were entrusted with the safety of the person and

20 *Annl. Rep, South Ind. Ep.* for 1905 p. 30
21 *Ep Ind.* vol VIII p 130 *Foot note* 1
22 *Annl. Rep. South Ind. Ep. for* 1905, para 31
23 *Ibid* for 1912 para 49
24 *Ibid* for 1913 para 117 and 1916 para 66
25 *Forgotten Empire* p 389
26 *Forgotten Empire* p 379

property of the subjects under his suzeranity and they were made to make good the loss that were sustained on account of robbery,[27]

Viceroys as rivals and usurpers of the Imperial Throne.

The viceroys, though they were the kith and kin of the royal family, on account of their shrewd statesmanship,' superior strength and indomitable valour became the rivals of the emperors and usurped the thrones of their lords. This was mainly due to their semi. independent state under the monarchs. If the monarch of the day was weak and imbecile like Mallikārjuna, the most powerful of the viceroys of the period usurped the throne. The usurpation by Sāluva Narasanāyaka in A.D. 1485 is a case for illustration. He attained such eminence that the Kingdom of Vijayanagara was called by the foreigners the Kingdom of Narasinga. But the successors of Narasinga became weak and in their turn, were themselves superseded by one of their own subordinates, a Chief of the Tuluva family. It was Narasa Nāyaka, who usurped the throne in or about 1501 A.D. and this is another case that illustrates the point. Again under the later Tuluva Emperors, the royal family of Āravīḍu became the *de-fcto* rulers of the Empire and afterwards were makers of its destinies.

These viceroys had not their glorious days under Krishṇarāya and Achyutarāya who both held them under strict control and faithful allegiance. And this was mainly due perhaps to the strong central government, the reins of which were held primarily in the hands of the great statesman and Brahmin Prime Minister of the 16th century, Sāluva Timma. We shall have occasion later to discuss the Brahmin supremacy in the court of the Vijayanagar Emperors and relate how the Brahmins of the day held an enviable position in the Vijayanagar polity.

II

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

The land revenue, as in ancient India, formed the bulk of the public finance of the day and was the main source of income to the state. Every inch of land over which the banner of the king flew belonged to the king, and as Nuniz says 'All the land belonged to the king and from his hands Captains hold it.[1] Hence all the land in the Empire was either under the control of the monarch or his viceroy to whom he entrusted the administration of the province. The people however had to pay either to the king or the viceroy the fixed proportion of rent ordined to be paid.

27 *Forgotten Empire* p 330
1 *Forgotten Empire* p 379

Perhaps the traditional system of payment of 1/6 of the crop to the king continued to even under the Vijayanagar Emperors. The *Parāśara-Madhavīyam*, a copius commentary on the text of Parāśara by the sage Vidyāraṇya, the political adviser and the spiritual *guru*, of the founders of the Vijayanagar Empire, "assigns as usual to the king 1/6 as the royal share of the crop"2 This traditional assignment should have continued under the administration of the Vijayanagar Emperors. In the words of Wilks, "This share he was desirous of converting into from grain to money payment and established fixed rules for the conversion founded on the quantity of land, the requisite seed, the average income and the value of the grain. The result literally conforms to the law of the Digest viz. 1/6 to the king, 1/30 to the Brahmin, 1/20 to the Gods and the rest to the proprietor. It is unnecessary to enter into detail, than to state that thirty is the whole number on which they distribution is made, of which it is calculated that 15 or ½ is consumed for the expenses of agriculture and the maintenance of the farmer's family. The distribution os the remaining 15 stands

Sovereign	5	i.e.	1/6
Brahmin	1½	,,	1/30
God	1	,,	1/20
	7½		
Remaining	7½		

The share payable to the Brahmins and Gods was received by the Sovereign and by him distrihuted so that the sums actually received by the sovereign and by the proprietor are equal."3

Such was the system in vogue at the beginning of the foundation of the Empire but the Empire developed rapidly and the maintenance of the same, forced the emperors to seek fresh taxation. The demand on the public exchequer from various sources, daily increased. The result was that fresh items of taxation were introduced and land tax was enhanced by 20%.4

Payment in Kind and Coin.

The payment was originally in kind and the public graneries were filled with the quantity of grain paid to the state towards its share,5 but the system was found after sometime to be cumbersome and the people were asked to pay in coin instead of in kind. But we think that both the systems existed side by side for sometime. According to an epigraph,

2 See Wilks *History of Mysore* p 94—96
3 Wilks *History of Mysore* p 94 to 96
4 Ibid p 94 to 96
5 *Ep Col.* No 96 of 1918

"the fee for the protection of the country" was to be raised only in kind and not in money, and that it was decided to dispense with the money payment and to detain only payment in kind so that the practice might be in conformity with the ancient regulations.6 This inscription certainly informs that at a certain stage the collection of revenue in kind was abandoned for good and in its place, the system of payment in coin was instituted to facilitate collection. However, we find that, the system of revenue under the first two dynasties at least, was very confusing and unregulated. The land revenue system for the first time, under the Vijayanagar emperors, Krishṇarāya and Achyutarāya only was shaped to a regular form, checked by a series of ordinances called *Rāyarēkhas* and a perfect system of accountancy and management was introduced.[7] The *Rāyarēkhas* or the ordinances issued from time to time by the emperor were intended for the guidance of the village officers in the settle-ment of revenue, mode of collection and remittance.

Revenue Settlement

During the time of Krishṇarāya the boundaries of each *Halli* (Telugu: *Palli*) or petty village were fixed, land marks and stones inscribed with writing or with symbols, were erected on such boundaries. The payment of the revenue was settled and the *Rāyarēkhas* which were the records of such revenue setttlement were transmitted to the headman of towns and *nāḍus* for preservation as records of such settlement.[8] It is interesting to note that during the time of the first dynasty of Vijayanagar the figure of Vāmana was engraved on the demarcation stones. The famous Ummatūr chief Chikkarāya, in granting an *agrahāra*, marked the boundaries with stones engraved with th sign of 'dwarf' or Vāmana.9

Measurement of Land.

The unit of length for measuring lands was a rod of 18 lengths or 'mettus' of a man's foot measured, so as to take in also half the right foot at the end. The name of the rod was '*Mānadaṇḍa*'[10] In one of the inscriptions of Devaraya II. we came across another nomenclature for the same. In that epigraph it is stated that the lands were measured by the rod '*Raja-vibhaṭan-kōl*'.[11] Yet in another inscription of the 15th century, it was recorded that the lands in the Magaḍai Manḍala were measured by a rod of 18 feet in length and assessment was made accordingly on that area. This procedure affected the income ot the *Rajagaram* or

6 *Ep. Col.* No. 259 of 1917
7 Rice; *Mysore Gazetter* vol. I p. 578
8 Rice *Mysore Gazetter* p. 578
9 *Ep. Carn.* vol. III, ML 95
10 Rice *Mysore Gazetteer* vol I p. 577
11 *Ep. Col.* No. 193 of 1915

the public exchequer and it was thought desirable to increase the length of the rod by two feet in order that the tax might be easy for payment and that the cultivators might be benefitted thereby. Accordingly the length of the measuring rod or *mānadaṇḍa* was fixed at 20 feet and both the wet and dry lands were again measured; and the changes entailed were noted in the field books maintained.[12]

The different kinds of Taxation.

With the rapid expansion of the empire and the consequent burden of maintenance of the same, forced the monarch of the day to devise ways and means of increasing the revenue. The upkeep of a strong army, the cost of defensive and aggressive wars waged against the rebellious chiefs and the foreign foes like the Muhammadans and the Gajapati, the increase of expenditure in the maintenance of the Imperial Court at Vijayanagar on account of the splendour and pomp that was engendered by the New Imperialism, had, each of its own, a call on the resources of the empire. The public exchequer had thus to be replenished at every time. Naturally, therefore, the emperors had to levy fresh taxes on the people who had to bear the burden, which became, heavier day by day.

The new taxes were vexatious as they were varied and also as they were almost non-agricultural. These non-agricultural taxes can be roughly estimated to be about fifty and they embrace under them every caste, community, art and craft. In short the list is baffling and bewildering. The non-agricultural taxes may roughly be divided into (1) *Property taxes* (2) *Profession taxes* (3) *Customs and Tolls* (4) *Animal and vehicle taxes* and (5) *Ceromonial* and other taxes.

Agricultural Taxes.

Before procceding to describe the non-agricultural taxes, it may be briefly stated here the nature of agricultural taxes levied. The agricultural taxes levied comprised taxes on the wet and dry lands.[13] The wet lands could be divided into the followings 12 kinds, and the taxes levied on them were both in kind and coin.

WET LANDS.

	Description of land.	*Kind.*	*Coin.*
1	Paddy fields (perhaps irrigated by State Irrigation System prevalent.)	About 50 *Kalams* (paddy)	20 *Panams.*
2	Waste land brought under cultivation.	40 do.	18 „
3	Forest land, reclaimed.	20 do.	2 „

12 No 97 of 1917

13 Ep. Col. No. 216 of 1917 and 59 of 1914.

4	Lands irrigated by boiling water.	20	do.	10	,,
5	Plantain and Sugar-cane Garden.	...	...	60	,,
6	Other kinds same as above.	...	...	50	,,
7	Marshes on which red lotuses are grown.	...	...	40	,,
8	Lands producing ginger, turmeric, onions, garlic &c.	...	...	25	,,
9	Lands producing brinjals and pumpkins	...	...	30	,,
10	Do Bengal Gram, Wheat, Mustard, Castor seeds.	...	...	20	,,
11	Do Gram and Green pulses	...	...	1	,,
12	Do Sesamum	...	..	¾	,,

DRY LANDS.

The taxes on the various kinds of dry lands are enumerated below.

1	Areca grove yielding about 1,500 nuts per tree For each tree @	1 *panam*
2	Cocoanut garden for each palm yielding not less than 40 fruits	½ *panam*

It is interesting to note that tender trees and barren trees in the backyards of houses whether yielding or not were exempted from taxation.

Jack garden yielding not less than 20 fruits per tree. ... ...

Non-agricultural Taxes

1 Property Tax.

Property tax was levied on houses and vacant sites.[14] The tax on houses varied from 1½ to 3 *panams* and the tax was levied only on each house as a piece of property by itself unlike as in our times, either on the annual income on the lands and buildings based on gross annual rent on them, or on estimated present cost of the building together with the estimated value of the land valued with the buildings as part of the same premises. The rates were once for all fixed and the principle of proportionate or progressive taxation was probably not taken into consideration in the levy of the Property Tax as it is being done now.

According to the epigraph quoted already we find the following rates levied on the different kinds of houses.

1	Each house of a villager.	3 *panams.*
2	Each house of the follower of a 'tantra'	1½ ,,
3	Other houses of ordinary people.	1½ ,,

14 *Annl Rep. on South Ind, (Ep.* 1915) p. 107

In this connection it may be noted that unoccupied houses were exempted from taxation as at the present day. Also the verandahs or slopes of houses or sheds were taxed 1½ *panams*. In one of the inscriptions of Dēvarāya I., it was ordered by the king that one Tākayya at Tirupati should, out of the money levied from each "Jaina House" throughout the kingdom, appoint 20 servants to protect the God at Belgola.[15]

2 Profession Taxes.

The profession tax levied in those days was too comprehensive and drew within its fold every kind of profession or '*vritti*' followed by several classes of the population. The tax levied did not depend on the income derived thereby, but for being born to pursue a particular craft or '*vritti*', to eke out one's livelihood, whether one derives its income thereby or not. The tax is levied for exercising a professisn, art, trade or calling, and for holding an appointment public or private and is proportionate to the income derived thereby. The following class of persons were liable to profession tax and the tax levied is given below according to an epigraph.

		Panams.
1.	Blacksmith	5
2.	Gold & Silversmith	5
3.	Potter	5
4.	Barber	4
5.	Washerman	4
6.	Brazier	6
7.	Oilmonger	20
8.	Pariah	1/2

In some other cases, persons of some status and position in the village were levied the tax,

		Panams
1.	Judge	5
2.	Member of the village-council	1/2
3.	Setti Proprietor	3
4.	Collector of tolls	4

In certain other cases, the tax was levied, perhaps with a view, to assess according to the income that might be derived.[16]

1.	Weaver with one working loom.	4
2.	Weaver with loom that does not work.	2
3.	Weaver for each loom (?)	9

15 *Ep. Carn.* vol II No 344 Plate LXXIV
16 *Annl. Rep. South Ind Ep*, 1915 p. 107; *Ibid* 1911 p. 83
Ep, Col. No. 216 of 1917 & *Annl, Rep. on South Ind. Ep.* 1913 p. 120

4.	Weaver with lace loom in working order.	3
5.	Weaver with each lace loom not in working order.	1½

People who belong to particular castes were levied profession tax. The *Idangai* and the *Valangai varis* were paid by the *Idangai* and *Valangai* sects[17]. Yet another epigraph throws light how this tax was too heavy to be born by these unfortunate castemen. An inscription belonging to the reign of Dēvarāya II.[18], records "that there was oppression on the part of the officers levying and realising tax and that the two sects of *Valangai* and *Idangai*, on whom it weighed heavily, formed themselves into a constitutional body to resist the exactions, vowing even to the extent of putting to death those who became renegades. Certainly this is a case of *satyāgraha* of the 14th century !

"It is also learnt that every labourer was bound to serve the king freely for a period of one year. That the king attached a good deal of importance to free service or *vetti-vāri*, is clear from an inscription of the 15th century at Tirukkaṭṭuhalli which says that the king gave away to the temple of that place about 40 to 45 different taxes which appear to have been generally collected by the place at that period except *vettivāri*[19]"

3 Customs and Tolls.

Under Vijayanagar administration, land customs were levied on various items of articles, under different forms and the right of collecting them was leased out. Naturally when the collection of customs was leased out, the renters levied different rates at different places on various goods and trades, and made large profits out of the same, after paying the rent due to the Government.[20] According to an inscription[21] of Śaka 1365, we understand that the following which were brought for sale to Tirupati on the high road to Tirupati had to pay *Sunkapūtalan*, *Dēvalam-tīruva* and *Nagari-kaṭnam*. The list includes carts, female slaves, houses oxen, buffaloes, every kind of grain, every kind of cloths etc. Yet another inscription from Belur enumerates such customs as on "Drugs, piece-goods, grains, animals, and female slaves.[22]" This is a very important inscription which gives out a long list of items on which the custom duties were levied during that time in about 26 towns existing then. There was also duty on large basket of eggs [23] This system of

17 Ibid 1913 page 130
18 Ibid, 1915 page 164—165 See *Ep Col*, No. 92 of 1918
19 *Ind Ant* vol. ILV p. 89
20 Rice *Mysore Gazetter* p. 583
21 *Nellore Ins*. Ongole No, 132
22 *Ep Carn* vol V part I Bh, 75
23 *Ep Carn* vol III ML 95

collection of land customs was prevalent till the commencement of the 19th century on the Bellary District, when the same was abolished by Act VI of 1844.[24]

4 Tolls.

In an inscription at Śrīśailam, during the time of Krishnarāya, it was stated that the emperor remitted tolls on 'Kāvaḍis', *Packponies, Packbulloc s* and *donkeys.* The tolls were probably oppressing to the pilgrims that resorted to the temple year after year.[25]

Lewis Rice, speaking of these customs prevalent during those days, writes in his *Mysore Gazettcr* as follows[26] "In the *Sunkam* or customs there were three different heads. Customs on goods imported to be sold at one place were called Sthaladayam; customs taken from goods in transit through a district were called *Mārgādāyam*; customs taken from goods exported to foreign countries were called *Maruládāyam.*"

According to the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920, tolls were lived on vehicles, carts. horses, mules, asses, buffaloes, bulls or bullocks, elephants and camels. The similarity between the levy in the medieval period and modern times may be examined by the reader.

5 Animal and Vehicle Taxes.

There was a goat tax, and there was a tax on cow, buffalo, and bull.[27] According to the Local Boards Act. of Madras 1920, animals and vehicles, four-wheeled motor vehicle, four-wheeled vehicle drawn by animals, two wheeled vehicles drawn by animals, motor cars, motor bicycle, tricycle, other carriages, elephant, camel, house, bullock, male-buffalo, ass, dog, pig, and goat, are taxed.

6 Marriage Tax.

A marriage tax was levied by the king, throughout the empire irrespective of the community[28]. But this grotesque piece of tax, was abolished during the time of Krishnadēvarāya. A Sanskrit and Telugu Inscription at Ramēsvaram in the Cuddappah District records that Krishnadēvarāya remitted the tax payable on the occasion of marriage both by brides and bridge-grooms of all castes. The remission should have extended to the whole of the Empire.[29]

24 *Bellary District Gazeteer*, p 181

25 *Ep Col* No. 18 of 1914

26 *Mysore Gazetteer* vol I p 583

27 *Ep Carn* vol III ML 95 1506 A D *Anl Rept South Ind Ep* 1912 p 49

28 *Ep Carn* vol III ML 95
Ep Carn. vol. IV KP 21 and 22 & *Ep Carn* vol III NJ 118

29 *Annl. Rep. South Ind. Ep.* for 1905, para 33

7 Salt Tax.

A duty on the manufactured salt was levied, as evidenced by certain epigraphs of the day. The people who prepared salt from the lands belonging to the State, had to pay revenue in proportion to the produce.[30]

8 Other important taxes.

There was a tax on oil-mill, sugar-cane mill, each plough of the cultivator as demonstrated by some of the inscriptions of the period. There was also a duty laid on a basket of eggs; another was duty on gold.[31] Other interesting taxes were the baking tax, cooking tax noticed in the inscriptions quoted.

9 Fisheries and Markets.

According to an inscription of 1374 A.D, taxes levied for catching fish in the tanks, and for holding markets.[32] Even now a license fee is levied on every person who intends to open a new private market or to continue to use a private market. Receipts from fisheries, is one of the sources of income to the Union and Taluk funds according to the Madras Local Boards Act, 1920.

10 Ferries.

A duty was also levied on the ferries at the crossing of rivers.[33] Receipts from ferries, form even now a source of income to the Local Bodies in the Madras Presidency.

11 Police Duties.

A duty was levied on every persons for guarding their persons and properties. This duty was called *Nadutulavarikkai*[34] and we shall have occasion to deal with it when we speak of the administration criminal under the Empire.

12 Tax on Barbers.

We already noticed that the tax on marriages was abolished by Krishnadēvarāya. The tax on the barber was abolished throughout the Empire during the reign of Sadāśivarāya under the orders of Aḷiya Rāmarāya.[35] Certainly the measures adopted by these two emperors were extremely benevolent and these two taxes were really a stigma to the statute book of the Vijyanagar Emperors.

30 Rice *Mysore Gazetter* vol. I p. 585
31 *Ep. Carn.* vol IV, part II Ch 64; *Ibid* vol III. ML 95; *Ibid* vol III. NJ 118; *Ibid* vol IV, KP 21 and 22
32 *Annl. Rep South Ind. Ep.* 1912 para 49
33 *Ind Ant* vol. XLV p. 69;
34 *Annl Rep South Ind. Ep for* 1912 para 49'
35 *Arch. Surv. of Ind.* 1908—69 page 198—09

Reductions and Remissions of Taxes and Tolls.

A narrative of the system of taxation, will not be complete, unless the subject of reduction and remission of taxes also is dealt with. We already noticed two cases of abolitton of taxes in the case of marriages and barbers. Whenever the tax was oppressive and too heavy to be shouldered by the people, either the emperors or the viceroys promptly interfered and either remitted or reduced the same. Instances of this fact are not wanting. An inscription of A. D. 1443, states that the King remitted land customs levied on the high road to Tirupati.[36] Another of A. D, 1402-3 of the time of Bukkana Oḍeyar, states that the tenants were granted certain favourable conditions for payment of dues on the wet and dry lands.[37] When the agriculturists of a particular district migrated to distant lands on account of heavy taxation, taxes on wet and dry lands were reduced to induce them to come back and settle.[38] Krishṇarāya abolished tolls that were lived on the gateway to Śriśailam[39] as per another epigraph of 1515 A. D; yet another inscription at Sedamangalam in South Arcot district informs us that in 1517 A. D. Krishnarāya remitted a revenue of 10,000 gold pieces in favour of certain Śiva and Vishṇu temples. The same statment is confirmed by another two inscriptions in the Trichinopoly and South Arcot districts.[40] There was also remission of tax on sugarcane in Melaya Bennūr as there was a danger of the inability of the people to pay these taxes.[41]

Additional taxes levied for festivals.

Whenever funds were required for any festivity or celebration, some dues were collected from the villagers, perhaps on the common consent of them all. When a provision of dancing girls had to be made for god Rāmanātha 30 *gadynams* had to be raised for the purpose. The Brahmins who were, all in all, under the Vijaynagar polity, came forward and levied at the rate of one panam per plough on the ryots and one panam on the family of labourers for hire and undertook to pay the amount in three instalments.[42] In a certain village, Terakanambi, the car festival of god Alwar had to be celebrated and a tax of 2 hana for each village and hamlet was levid for the celebration.[43]

36 *Nellore Ins*. Ongole 132

37 *Anl. Rep. Sovth Ind Ep* 1913 p 118

38 *Ibid* 1916 p 143

39 *Ep. Col.* No 18 of 1914

40 *Ep Col.* Nos. 288 of 1903 and 125 of. 1904

41 *Ep Carn.* vol. XI Dg. 106

42 *Ep Carn.* vol IV para II GM 32 and 34

43 *Ep Carn* vol IV GM 8

III

COINAGE.

The imperial Mint.

Abdul Razaack[1] who stayed in the city of Vijayanagar from April to December of 1443 A,D., during the reign of Devaraya II. describes in his interesting narrative, the mint and the coins issued during the time. "On the left side of the palace there is the Mint, where they stamp three kinds of Gold coins mixed with alloy, one is *varāha* and weighs about one *miskal*, equal to two Kapaki *dinars*, the second kind is *Pratab* and is equal to half of the first, the third is called *Fanam* and is equal to 1/10 of the *Pratab*. The last is the most current. Of pure silver they make a coin equal to a sixth of a *fanam*, which they call *Tar* which is also in great use. The third of the *Tar* is a copper coin called '*Jital*'. The usage of the country is that at a stated period every one throughout the empire carries to the mint the revenue which is due from him and whoever has money due to him from the exechequer receives an order on the mint."

Thus, thanks to the foreign traveller, we are given a clear account of the coinage of the period. Gold and copper coins only seem to be more in circulation than the silver coins. The siver coin did not come into popular use till the advent of the Muhammadan rule, and as Rice says, "According to Ferista, there was no silver coinage in the Carnatic countries at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and even three eenturies later we find only gold and copper coins in existence. In fact it was not till the Muhammadans permanently established their sway in the South that their preference for the rupee led to the introduction of silver currency displacing the gold previously in circulation."[2]

During the Vijayanagar empire gold and copper were the only important metals in which the coins were issued. The reason was not far to seek. The area comprised by the empire was abudant in gold and copper mines, but the silver was not available at all and had to be purchased for the issue of coin.

The different kinds of coins issued with the description of the same during the time of the Vijayanagar emperors is given in the following table.

Copper	3 *jitals*	make one	*Tar*
Silver	6 *Tars*	,,	One *Fanam*
Gold	10 *Fanams*	,,	One *Pratāb*
	2 *Pratabs*	,,	One *Varāha*
	3 *Varāhas*	,,	Double *Varāha*.

1 Elliot's *Hist of Ind* vol IV pp. 105 to 125
2 Rice *Mysore Gazetteer* vol I p. 800

DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS.[3]

	Coin.	Name of the King.	Obverse.	Reverse..	Remarks.
1	*Varāha*	Bukkarāya.	A rude kneeling figure of *Garuḍa* facing the right.	Śri Vira Bukkarāya.	
2	*Pratāb*	Hariharaıāya.	God and Godess seated.	Śrī Vira Pratāpa Harihara.	
3	Copper coin.	Hariharaıāya.	Bull facing the right.	Pratāpa Harihara.	There is a ring in the centre between the lines of the legend.
4	*Varāha*	Dēvarāya.	God and Godess seated.	Śrīvīrapratāpa Dēvarāya.	
5	*Pratāb*	Dēvarāya.	God & Goddess seated.	Śrīvīra pratāpa Dēvarāya.	
6	*Varāha* ¼	Dēvarāya.	Elephant facing to the left and above it Sun & Moon.	Śrī Dēvarāya.	
7	Copper	Dēvarāya.	Elephant facing the right with a letter above it.	Pratāpa Dēvarāya.	
8	Copper	Dēvarāya.	Elephant facing right with a letter above it.	Pratāpa Dēvarāya.	Addition of a conch to the left and of a discus to the right of letter.
9	Copper	Dēvarāya.	Elephant facing the right with a letter above it.	Rāja-gāja ganda-bhērunda	There is Sun and Moon and the Kanarese syllable 'Dē' (probably abbreviation of Dēvarāya)

[3] *Ind Ant* vol XX p 301 (Coins of Vijayanagar Kings)

10	Copper	Dēvarāya.	Bull facing the right with the moon above & the conch in front.	Pratāpa Dēvarāya.	
11	*Varāha* (double)	Krishṇa rāya.	Vishṇu standing under an arch	Śrī Krishṇa rāya.	
12	*Varāha*	Krishṇa rāya.	Śiva and Pārvati seated.	Śrīvīra pratāpa Krishṇarāya.	
13	*Varha*	Krishnarāya.	Vishṇu seated with the discus and conch.	Śrīvīrapralapa Krishṇarāya.	
14	*Pratab,*	Krishṇarāya.	Vishṇu seated with the discus and conch	Śrīvīra pratāpa Krishṇa rāya	In some cases sitting figure looks like a female and might be intended for Lakshmī (see para below)
15	Copper coin	Krishṇarāyá.	Kneeling figure of Garuda which faces the left.	Śiīvīra pratapa Krishṇa rāya.	
16	*Varāha*	Achyutarāya.	A double headed eagle holding elephants in its beaks and claws.	Śrī Vīra pratāpa, Achyutarāya.	
17	*Pratab*	Achyutarāya.	A gaṇḍa-bhēruṇḍa which is walking to the left.	Śrī Vīra paratāpa Achyuta rāya	
18	*Varāha*	Sadā Śivarāya.	Vishnu & Lakshmi seated.	Sri Pratāpa Sad Śivarāya	
19	*Varāha*	Tirumalarāya.	Rāma & Sita seated & Lakshmana standing.	Śrī Tirumalarāya.	
20	*Pratab*	Tirumalarāya.	Rāma and Sīta seated and Lakshmana standing.	Śrī Tirumalarāya.	

It has been found out later that the female figure sitting on the obverse of the *Varāhas* and *Pratābs* of Śrī Krishna Dēvarāya, is the figure of a *Durga* and not *Lakshmi*4.

The coins issued were flat and round but not well shaped probably on account of bad minting. The gold coin *Varāha* is also called '*Gadyānam*'. The coin is named so perhaps it is one of the incarnations of god Vishṇu and forms the crest of the Vijayanagar Emperors. Their banner possesses the *Varāhalāñchhanam*, like that of the Chālukyas. This *Varāha* or Pagoda is described by Paes in his Chronicle thus.[5] "and if any one does not know what a 'purdao' is, let him know that it is a round gold coin, which coin is not struck any where in India except in this Kingdom; it bears impressed on it on one side two images and on the other the name of the king who commanded it to be struck; those which this king ordered to be struck have only one image. This coin in current all over India"

We also find that during the time of Krishṇarāya and onwards, double *Varâhas* were issued along with the single and half-*Varāhas*. This, perhaps, was done to suit the needs of the times as the Empire reached its zenith during his reign.

IV

IRRIGATION.

The reader may be surprised to hear that the system of Irrigation under the Vijayanagar emperors was well organised and productive. Anicuts were built on the Tungabhadrā, the Kāvērī and other rivers, tanks constructed, and channels dug across the country to irrigate the lands. There were about 10 to 12 anicuts built on the Tungabhadra itself and a report goes to say "that positions for the anicuts have been chosen with great judgement and the channels have been formed with consummate skill" Interesting epigraphs are forthcoming to give us a vivid picture of the system of irrigation and assessment of lands thereunder.1

At one time, during the reign of Bukkana Oḍeyar II., according to an epigraph, it was stated that on account of heavy floods in the river Kāvērī the water overflow its banks, and consequently the demarcation moulds between the fields were washed away, the irrigation channels had silted up, with the result, that the lands of the village Valuvur

4 *Varaha of* Sri Krishnarâya of Vijayanagar. (*Journal of Indian History* vol. VIII part III Dec. 1929)

5 *Forgotten Empire* pp 282—83

1 *Bellary District Gazetteer* p. 90

lay fallow. The ryots had left the fields for a considerable time. Then the fields were reclaimed, the boundary banks repaired, the irrigation channels restored, and tenants reinhabited on certain favourable conditions. Thus during the first year of holding, half of the usual dues only were collected on the lands cultivated, and then ¾ of the usual dues for the following year, the money collections *Kuḍimai* and *Kannikkai* were not collected and *palavai* and *puduvari* alone were be levied. The same conditions were extended to the lands belonging to temples and Brahmins.2

A great granddaughter of Harihara II, by name Jomma Devi, had a channel dug to the Tirumani Tank, in the Penugonda kingdom, of which undertaking, the following interesting facts were given. It was agreed to pay 130 *gadyanams* to dig the channel and also give as a present, after the completion of the same, a portion of land at the sluice, a house and bracelets, on the condition, that these should be returned if the water did not flow in the channel. The channel was dug and the water flew regularly in the same. The amount stipulated was paid, together with the presents promised and a '*dasabandha*' free of all imposts was granted to them, under the Tirumani tank, into the bargain.3

An inscription dated 1416 A. D. gives us another information. The temple-priest of a certain goddess enterred into an agreement with certain Brahmins for the restoration of the Ārali Dam on the Pālār river, which had been breached long ago and ruined down to the ground level. The Brahmins agreed to restore the dam and the reservoir behind it at their own expense, and build their an *agrahara* after the name of the goddess. In return for the restoration of the dam and the reservoir, they were to receive rent free ¾ of the rice lands under it, ¼ being reserved for the goddess. Further, they were to receive rent free, land on which they would cut down the forest and form into fields. If the tank should get damaged, at any subsequent period, the Brahmins only should pay for its repairs.4

Another inscription dated 1410 A. D., relates an interesting story of a dam on the river Hanidra. It records an agreement arrived at in 1410 A. D. on bahalf of the god Harihara and the Brahmins residing in the village *Harihara Kshētra.* The Brahmins should build the dam at their own expense within the boundary of the god's land and dig a channel through the God's land. The lands irrigated by the said channel should be divided between the god. and the Brahmins in the ratio 2 : 1 (2/3 to the God, and 1/3 to the Brahmins). It is also interesting to note

2 *Annl. Rep. South Ind. Ep for* 1913 p. 118
3 *Ep. Carn.* vol X BG 70
4 *Ibid* vol X. MB, 7

that all the expenses for repairs on wells or tanks made under the channel should be borne in the proportion laid down already. In the same way distribution of water should be regulated,

Unfortunately, perhaps on account of bad workmanship, the dam was breached and the poor Brahmins, were at a loss to find out the means of reconstructing the same. They had to seek for a benefactor who would provide them with the necessary funds for the restoration. Accordingly they approached Chāmanṛipāla, the commander of the King's forces. To him, it was explained, the calamitous result that followed in the wake of the breach, how the livelihood of the poor Brahmins was at a stake and how the worship of the God had consequently become interrupted. The generous general of the army, then paid the amount required for the restoration of the dam, and the blessings of the Brahmins and the God showered upon him.[5]

Yet another inscription dated 1468 A. D., narrates another story of a new dam across the Kāvērī. Dēvarāja, son of Singanna Oḍeyar of Nāgamangala made a grant for the benefit of his mother, of a village to god Rāmachandra and 76 Brahmins, on the occasion of the construction of a new dam in the Kāvērī and a channel to the village of Harahu.[6]

Emperor Krishṇadēvarāya constructed in 1521 A. D., the great dam and channel at Korragul and the Basavanna channel, both of which are still in use and of great value to the country.[7] PAES describes the construction of tank for the purpose of water suply, during the time of Krishnarāya, thus. "Besides this, the King made a tank there, which as it seems to me, has the with of a falcon-shot and it is at the mouth of two hills so that all the water either side or the other on this collects there; and besides this, water comes to it from more than three leagues by pipes whieh run along the lower parts of the range outside. This water is brought from a lake which itself overflows into a little river. The tank has three large pillars handsomely carved with figures; these connect the above with certain pipes by which they get water when they have to irrigate their gardens and rice fields. In order to make this tank the said King broke down a hill which enclosed the ground and occupied by the said tank. In the tank, I saw so many people at work that they must have been fifteen or twenty thousand men looking like ants, so that you could not see the ground on which they walked, so many there were; this tank the king portioned out amongst his

5 *Ibid* vol IX. DG. 23 and 24

6 *Ibid* vol III. SR. 139

7 *Forgotten Empire*, 162

captains, each of whom had the duty of seeing that the people placed under him did their work, and that the tank was finished and brought to completion.

"The tank burst two or three times, and the King asked his Brahmins to consult their idols as to the reason why it burst so often, and the Brahmins said that the idol was displeased and desired that they should make a sacrifice, and should give the blood of men and horses and buffaloes; and as soon as the King heard this, he forthwith commanded that at the gate of the pagoda, the heads of sixty men should be cut off, and of certain horses and buffaloes, which was at once done".[8]

Instances, how the previous emperors, viceroys and ministers constructed tanks, etc. for purposes of irrigation or well being of people, are many. A tank was dug after the name of Anantasar a minister of Bukkarāya in 1370 A,B. [9] Another minister of Bukārāya constructed in 1364 A.D. an embankment across the riven Paṇḍu which rises in the Kambugirisvāmi Hills and formed a big tank, filled in with its waters, constructed another dam across the river Chitrāvatī rising in the hill sacred to God Vēnkaṭēśvara, sixteen miles south of Bukkarāya Samudram and constructed a big tank.[10]

The Emperor-poet Krishnadēvarāya, in his monumental work *Āmuktamalayda* in Telugu, says "the increase of income to the state depends upon the extent of the territory. Even though the territory is not extensive, the king should construct tanks, channels, and help the poor--yots by granting some concession of taxes both in kind and coin. Thereby both the *Artha* (money) and *Dharma* will be increased.[11] The king showed the same both by precept and practice and was quite true to the very letter of his maxim.

V.

COMMERCE.

The foreign traveller who visited the city and sojourned through the Empire, the inscriptions of and contemporary literature the period, present us the picture of the inland and sea borne trade of the Hindu Empire.

8 *Ibid* pp. 244—45
9 *Ep. Carn.* vol XII. PG. 92
10 *Sources of Vijayanagar History* p. 45
11 *Amuktamalyada*, Canto Verse 236

Inland Trade.

BELUR AND KONDAVIDU INSCRIPTIONS.

We have already noticed that land customs were levied on various kinds of articles in which the merchants pursued their trade. One of the inscriptions of Muddappa the famous *Daṇḍanāyaka* of Bukka I, contains on account of how the *Salu-mule Benaja* merchants with various sects dependent on them, and all the Holiyas of Vijayanagar and 26 other towns where fairs were established, resolved to pay him certain dues in return for the protection afforded. Duties on buffaloes, horses, camels, pigs. bullocks, elephants, female servents, each person of a retinue, dancing girls, grain, diamonds, sandalwood, camphor, crystal, cardamoms, chillies, pepper, rose-water, musk, saffron, *sādu*, *javādi*, *punugu*, yarns, piece-goods, onions, turmeric, spices, jaggery, sugar, arecanuts, *kambali*, *ratna kambali*,*zamukhana* sack, were mentioned. The towns mentioned in the Vijayanagar empire, were enumerated below:"Hastināvatī, Vijayanagarī, Dōrasamudra Penukoṇḍa, Ādavani, Udayagiri, Chandragiri, Malavayi, Kānchī, Paḍavīḍu Chaturangapatnam, Mangalore,Barakuru, Honnavara, Chandavam, Araga,Chandragutti,Annigeri,Nidugallu,Chinnatanakallu,Taraikallu,Anaviddu Sanikalliah, Telakalamb, and Singapatnam." The merchants assembled conferred upon the famous General the title of Mayoralıty "*pṛthvi-Seṭṭitana*" in return for the protection afforded to the commerce throughout the Empire.[1] The towns noted above as our readers may understand, are scattered throughout the Empire. The Koṇḍavīdu Inscription of Nādinḍla Gōpamantri, is an unique record, in that, it throws considerable light on the fiscal system prevailing in the 15th and 16th centuries. The duties levied on the various kinds of merchandise are enumerated therein, and we give below a detailed account of the same. Gopamantri, the Viceroy of Koṇḍavīḍu assigned the tolls levied on the following articles of trade to the god Raghunāyakasvāmi at Koṇḍavīḍu.

"Assigned '*Mūlavīsas*' in the town of Koṇḍavīḍu at water-sheds, at salt-beds, and market towns and at roads frequented by people, such as those to Tirumala Hills, at the rate of half a *paikamu* on every bag of the following articles:—Great millet, millet, salt, mangoes, myrobolam, fruits, brinjals, clearing nuts, and mavena (a fragrant root); — at one *paikamu*, on every bag of green-gram, black-gram, bengal-gram, horse-gram, red-gram, wheat, seasumum-seeds, oilseeds, blackpulse, cotton, tamarind, gall-nuts, myrobolam seeds, yarn, *chāma*, *Chirugudam* (roots; — at one *damma* on every bag of the following:—Onions, turmeric, dammer, cumin, fenugreek, mustard, *salagas* of new gunny bags, green

1 *Ep. Carn*, vol V Part I B.L. 75

ginger, lime fruits, and cocoanuts; and at two *dammas* on every bag of the following:—jaggery, cleaned cotton, ghee, castor oil, sangadi flowers (*Bassia-Latifolia*), dry ginger, iron, steel chisels; — at three *dammas* on every bag of the following:—sugar, arecanuts, Cotten-thread, betel-leaves; — at *six dammas* on every bag of long pepper, pepper, sandal, cloves, nutmeg, mace, lead, tin, copper, and at *chavela* (one eighth of a pagoda) on a double bullock load of women's garments."

This inscription is almost identical with that of the Belur inscril ption quoted from the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, in narrating the items of merchandise on which tolls are levied at that time. Both these two important records are of a great importance in picturing commercial conditions of the empire.

A picture of the trade, in the Vijayanagar city itself, as drawn by the foreign visitors is still preserved to us in the records left by them. Abdur Razack says, "Each class of men belonging to each profession has shops contiguous to each other; the jewellers sell publicly in bazaar, pearls, rubies emeralds, and diamonds."[2] Paes writes, "In this street live many merchants and will find all sorts of rubies, and diamonds, and emeralds, and pearls, and seed pearls and cloths and every other sort of thing there is on earth and that you may wish to buy. Then you have there every evening a fair where they sell many common horses and nags and also many citrons and limes and oranges and grapes and every other kind of garden stuff and wood"[3] Paes describes how pork, mutton, vegetables, butter, oil and milk, were available in plenty during that time.[4] Nuniz states, "The markets are always overflowing with abundance of fruits, grapes, oranges, limes pomegranates, jack-fruits, and mangoes and all very cheap."[5]

Foreign Trade.

Abdur Razack who visited the city during the time of Devaraa II. says that "this latter prince has in his dominions three hundred ports, each of which is equal to Calicut."[6] Barbosa gives an account of the foreign trade of country as follows:—"In this city there are many jewels which are brought from Pegu and Celani (Ceylon) and in the country itself many diamonds are found, because there is a mine of them in the Kingdom of Narasinga and anothers in the Kingdom of Deecani.

2 *History of India* Elliot and Dawson pages 165—125

3 *Forgotten Empire* p. 255

4 *Ibid* p. 259

5 *Ibid* p. 375

6 Elliot's *History of India*, vol. IV pp. 106—125

DHARAKOTA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE KARA KING SUBHAKARA DEVA OF ORISSA.

SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU MAHASAYO.

Last year in April my friend Pandit Ananta Tripāṭhī, *Sāhitya-śirōmaṇi*, Professor, Rajah's Sanskrit College, Parlakimedi, brought to me a large copper-plate inscription which he said was found in the village Balichchai (lit. *Sandy shade*). situated at a distance of two miles from the Dhārākōṭa—*gaḍa*, Ganjam district. I was informed that the plate was discovered between two big stones on a boggy land which was being utilised as a common cattle-grazing ground of the village. As the plate was thrown on open ground for an unknown length of period, it became so badly rusted that the villagers thought it to be a old and spoiled earth digging instrument (like a showel) locally called '*koḍḍi*'. However, when the rust was washed out to a certain extent the villagers were astonished to find strange letters inscribed on it. And when my friend Mr. Tripāṭhī went to that village, they eagerly requested him to read that charter. But their request could not then be immediately fulfilled, as my friend was not acquainted with the ancient scripts of Kalinga ; and the plate was then brought to me by my friend. As the writing was in a very bad condition I took full two months to read it completely.

The plate measures 14' × 12½' and is ¼' thick; it weighs with its seal 50 palas. The size of the characters is about three tenths of an inch. On the left side of the plate there is a circular seal on which the legend containg the donor's name as '*S'rī Subhākara Dēvasya*' is clearly inscribed. The diametre of the seal is 3 inches. Along the inner edge of the seal are found engraved full-grown lotus buds. In the centre of the seal a couchant bull with its legs, hump, tail and a bell (with a rope) tied to its neck are distinctly found, in relief. Above the bull are a conch to the proper right and a *Chandra bindu* (Half-moon with a star-like dot) to the left; and on either side of the bull are found two floral designs beautifully engraved.

The language employed in the grant is pure Sanskrit, which is partly in verse and partly in prose. The script is *Brāhmī* (?) of the *Uttara S'aili* (Northern Style). Palæographically the script used in this charter can be assigned to the sixth or seventh century A. D., as there is

a close resemblance between the writing of this charter and that of the Manuvarma of the Eigth century, inscribed on a bronze statue. We may also notice here that the writing on the statue of Manuvarma was slightly developed from the script of the present grant in so far as we do not see two wing like strokes on the head of each letter found on the letters of the Bronze statue inscription of Manuvarma. Morever, we find a slight difference between the scripts of Śubhākaradēva and Manuvarma in the following letters : *ka, cha, ja, na, ta tha, ṇa. pha, bha, ra vvɹ, śa* and *sa* etc. I therfore take that Śubhākaradēva must be at least a hundred years prior to Manuvarma and therefore assign him to the sixth or seventh century A. D. There are only six *slokas* in this charter, excluding those quoted at the end from the *Māna'a Dharma S'āstra*, while the rest of the grant is all in prose. There are altogether thirty lines on the first side of the plate and four lines on the second side. Of them I could read only the first side, while the lines the other side could not yet be read.

The inscription relates to a grant made by Śubhākaradāva who belongs to the famous KARA or the BHAUMA (the planet, Mangala) dynasty of Orissa. The genelogy of this frmily according to our present grant is as follows :—

Laksmīnkara.
|
S'ubhākara I.
m. Satyabhāma.
|
S'āntikara.
m. Tribhuvana Mahādēvī
(of the Nâgôdbhava or the S'ailôdbhava family of Orissa.)
|
Śrī Śubhākara Dēva II. (*Donor*)

Several other inscriptions of this dynasty have been discovered till now in some parts of Orissa and the Ganjam district. The most important of them are the following (1) Ganjam Plates of Daṇḍimahādēvī, (*Ep. Ind.* vol. VI. 133—140 and 140—142) (2) Chaurasi (Puri District) Grant of Śivankara, (3) Dhenkanala inscription of Tribhuvanamahādēva, and lastly (4) another grant of Śubhākara (II.) discovered in Neulapur Cuttack district, The geneologies given in these plates are as follows :—

(1) *Chaurasi Ccpper-Plate grant of S'ivakaradēva*

Śrikara.
m. Jayabali of the Kubēra dynasty.
|
Śrī Śubhākara.
m. Mādhavadēvī.
|
Śrī Sivakāra Dēva.

(2) *Ganjam Plates of Daṇḍimahādēvī.*

Unamatta Simha.
|
Indukara.
|
Gōpāda or Gayada.
|
Śrī Lōkabhara.
|
Kusumabhara. — Lalita Bhara.
|
Śāntikara.
m. Tribhuvanamahādēvī.
|
Śubhākara.
m. Gaurī.
|
Daṇḍimahādēvī.

3. *Dhenkanala Copper Plate Inscription of Tribhuvanamahādēvī.*

Unamatta Kēsari.
|
Gayada.
|
Lalita Bhara.
|
Tribhuvana Mahādēvī.

(4) *The Neulapur Plates of S'ubhakaradēva.*

Khemankara.
|
Śivakara Dēva.
|
Śubhākara Dēva.

From the above inscriptions we gather that the 'Kara' kings were ruling over Orissa from about the Fourth Century A. D, in a country known as Tōshala or Tosali, which extended from the Mahēndragiri on the south to the Mahānadī on the north, which was divided Into parts called *Uttara* Tōshala and *Dakshina* Tōshala respectively. Some scholars of Orissa and Bengal locate the royal residence of Tōshala near Bhuvanēśvar and some in the vicinity of the river Prāchī in the Purī district. I believe the headquarters of Tōshala is called 'Guhēśvara' or 'Guhadēvapāṭaka' mentioned in all the inscriptions of the Kara kings discovered up to date; and that it must be located near Bhuvanēśvar. Two years ago when I was studying the stone inscriptions of the famous Khaṇḍagiri (Hill) of Bhuvanēśvar, I caught sight of an inscription which was inscribed in old characters. I read it as follows:

श्री शान्तिकर शौराज्यादाचन्द्रार्कं गृहेगुहे गजस्याघोरणा दिव ।
इज्या गर्भसमुद्भूतो नन्नटस्यसुतो भिषक् भौमतो यावतो राजन् ··· वंशराथुवः ।

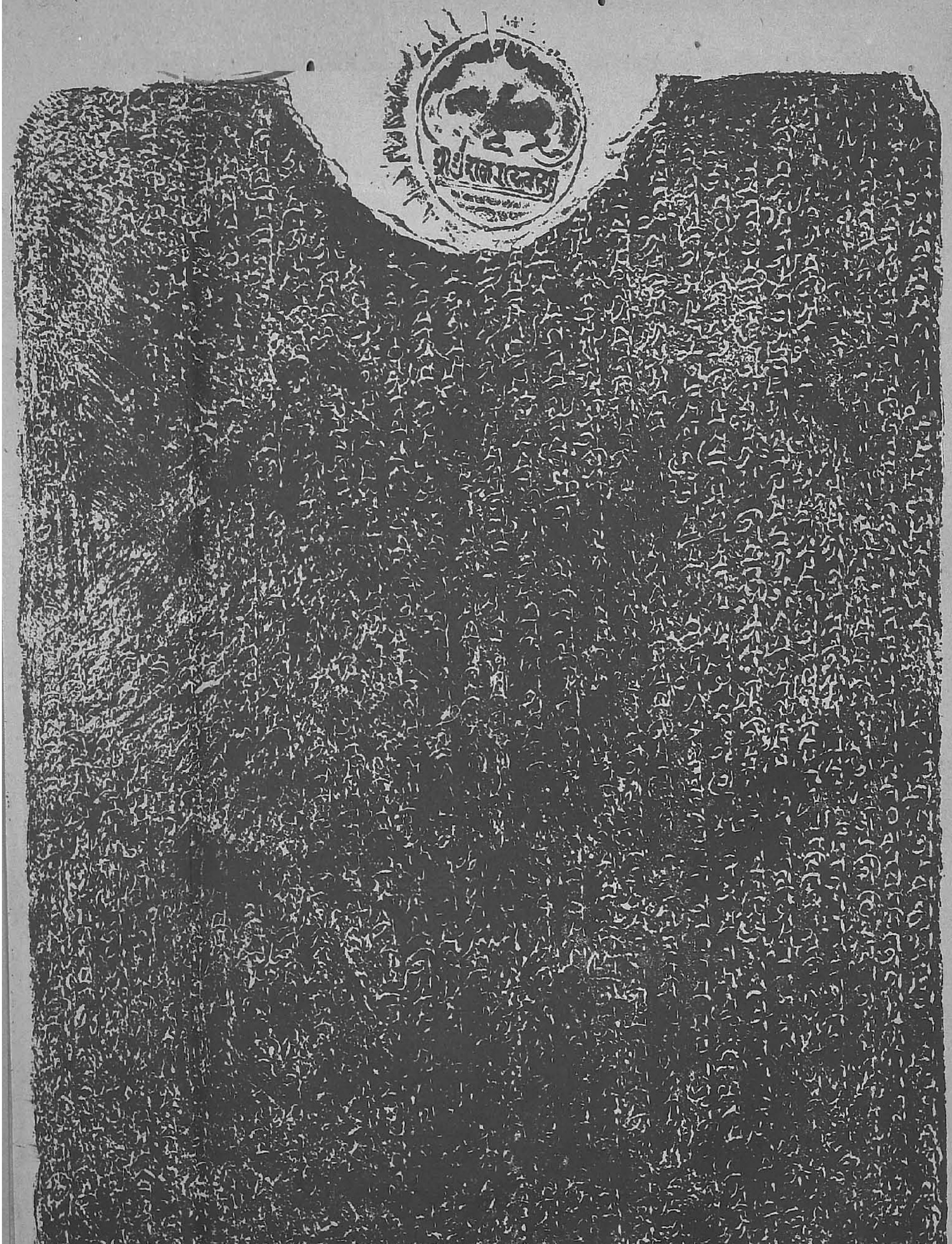
From the above it is clear that Śāntikara Deva the king of that peaceful country, in the house of the cave 'grihe guha' गुहे गुहे appointed a doctor,. who was the son of Nannaṭa the offspring of the Earth, इज्यागर्भसमुद्भूतः or भौमः I think the mystery of the word '*guha deva*' गुहदेव or guhēśvara pāṭaka गुहेश्वरपाटक can be cleared with the help of the cave inscription. *Guha* means cave, and *Is'vara* means God. In the Neo-Buddhist period of India, the caves of Khaṇḍagiri were reputed for their ecclesiastical importance. Most probably the tutelary god of the royal house or the country of Tōshala, the '*Ishṭa dēvata*' was installed in one of the caves of Khaṇḍagiri, and consequently the town near the hill was called G u h ē ś v a r a-p ā ṭ a k a, and was the metropolis of the Tōshala county as well as the residence or the *rājadhāni* of the kings of the Kara dynasty The present charter was issued from the same city G u h ē ś v a r a p ā ṭ a k a.

The village Gujjāṭa of Jayakaṭaka Taluk, in the Kongōḍa district of *Dakshiṇa* Tōshala was granted to three Brahmanas, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyana, Kuntā Bhaṭṭa, and Bhaṭṭa Lumbadēva Mitra. Of these, the first two belong Māngalya and Kauśika *gōtras*, Angiras and Viśvāmitra *pravaras*, Dattātrēya and Dēvahōtra *anupravaras* and *Vājasanēya Charaṇas*, respectively. The village granted in this inscription cannot be identified. But the place Jayakaṭaka may be located near Jayagaḍa which is now called Jaugaḍa and situated near Berhampore (Ganjam). This Jaugaḍa is an important place in as much as a rock edict of Aśoka and the ruins of an old fort are found there. The present grant is further important as it throws considerable light upon the religion of the Kara kings. According to the following werse we learn that Śubhākara Dēva of the Kara dynasty was a *Bauddha*:—

तत्कुलान्वये जितारातिराजा परम सौगतः ।
हेलानिर्म्मल सत्कीर्त्ति नृपति श्री शुभाकरः ।।

But Śubhakara Dēva calls himself '*Paramabhaṭṭāraka*' and *Paramēs'vara*', which titles convey only the idea that he was a paramount sovereign. Thus it appears that some kings of this dynasty were converted from Buddhism to the later day Brahmanism From this grant we also learn that inter-marriages existed between the Kara kings of Tōshala and the Śailōdbhava kings of Orissa.

तस्यतनय स्त त्पादानुध्यात श्रीसन्नागोद्भव कुल ललाम ।
भूताया महादेव्या श्री तृभुवन महादेव्या * * * ।।



Dharakota Copper Plate Grant of Subhakaradeva

Size reduced to one half.

The word '*Nāgōdbhava*' apparently refers to the Śailōdbhava dynasty, and it can be said from this fact that inter-marriages between the two royal houses existed and that the Śailōdbhava princes were contemporaries and vassals of the Kara kings of Tōshala.

TEXT.

First Side.

1 ॐ । स्वस्ति । स्रवन्मदजल द्विरदेन्द्र बृन्द रङ्गत्तुरङ्गम महोर्म्मिहताव काशात् (।*) धर्म्मान्वितोपि विजिता-

2 खिल राजलोक शुभ्रातपत्र पृथुफेन वितान दभ्भात (॥*) गुहदेवपाटकावासित जयस्कन्धावारात् (॥*) भौ

3 मान्ववाय कमलाकर भास्करेषु लक्ष्मीङ्करादिषु नृपेषुदिवङ्गतेषु (आतिष्ठिपत्क्षिति शश) म्भव देवराज आ.

4 सन्निजासन निवेशन लोकवेषा (॥*) स्तदन्वये जितारति राजपरम सौगतः (।*) हेला निर्विलसत् कीर्त्ति नृपति श्री

5 शुभाकरः (॥*) प्रजापतिः सन्नपि सत्यभामा समन्वितोर्थे परमेश्वरोपि श्वेताभिषा दानकरः त्रिदिवः भूत्वा-

6 उमाप्रिः पुरुषोत्तमो(पि*) ॥ तस्यात्मज स्त्रिदिवराज इवप्रसूते । दुर्वार वैरि बल निर्द्दलनैक वीरः (।*) सर्व्वातिशायि विष-

7 ये प्रतिलालित श्री ख्यातो भृशं जगति शान्तिकरः क्षितीशः (॥*) त्यागेषु यस्य नृपते रतुलोद्भवस्य सत्की-

8 र्त्तन त्रिभुवनेन्द्र विभवापि यस्य निःश्वास वद्धनप इत्यभिधान मेतदद्यापि दूरमुप-सर्ज्जन ता-

9 वलोभात् (॥*) तस्य तनय स्त त्पादानुध्यात श्रीनागोद्भवकुल कलश भूताया मह देव्या श्री (त्रिभुवन) महादे-

10 व्या परात्पजन्मात्सज्जन सरोज विकास वीजानसुपति सत्यवती निखिला शङ्खानसार, शङ्खैव प्रजारंभी

11 म प्रखर भुजबल भयानक यमासिवलाय प्रतिलालित धराय कमल सकल कालात्प्रस्तु

12 शङ्ख (.....) जनित निखिल जन प्रमोद रूपासित कमलोद्दतीवकरः करद करउ-

13 न्मद महीपालो प्यनीत वलि विलास धल्पसङ्कल्प पादपद्म2 कालिकालाय मृत्तीद्दि

14 षयी दुग्घोद विरुपा भीमकुरि गुहसुताय परमभट्टारको महाराजाधिराज परमेश्व-

15 र श्री शुभाकर देवः कुशली ॥ दक्षिण तोषल्या कोङ्कद मण्डल वर्त्तमाने भविष्यन्म हासामन्त राजरा-

16 ज पुत्रान्तरङ्ग कुमारामात्य......विषयपति तदानियुक्तक दण्डपाशिक स्थानान्तरित-

17 विराज प्रसादित श्चाट्ट भट्ट वल्लभ जातीयां जयकटक विषये महामहत्तर बृहद्भोगीम

18 स्त पाल कंटकोल साध्याधिकरणं यथार्हं मानयति वेधयति समाज्ञापयति च विदित

19 मस्तु भवतां। एताद्विषय सम्बन्ध गुज्जाट ग्रामोयं स्सो परिकर स्सोदिशस्सतन्त्रवायगोकुल

20 शौण्डिकादि प्रकृतिक सखे राघवेन्द्र भुते स्वस्थनादि गुल्म सर्व्वपीड़ा वर्ज्जित: आलेखनी प्रवेश-

21 त: या भूमिच्छिद्र संविधान न्यापि आचन्द्रार्क क्षिति समकालं मातापित्रो रात्मना श्च ...पुण्याय वृद्ध

22 ये माङ्गल्य गोत्र अङ्गिरस प्रवर दत्तात्रेय सानु प्रवर कौशिक गोत्र विश्वामित्र प्रवर देवहोत्र-

23 अनुप्रवर वाजसनेय चरण भटनारायणदेव कुण्टाभट्ट भट्टलुम्वदेव मित्राय कृषकण्ठनि

24 त ... करत्वेन प्रतिपादित स्तदेषां विभर्त्तिम्विदित्वा गौरवात् भव-

25 द्भि परिपाल नीयात् सम्वत् ३ चैत्र सुदि —॥ उक्तञ्च धर्म्मशास्त्रे वहुभि र्व्वसुधा दत्ता रानभि: स-

26 गरादिभि: यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि स्तस्य स्तस्य तदाफलम् । माभूय फल शङ्कवट परदत्तेति पा

27 र्थिव: स्वदानात् फल मानल्पं परादानानुपालने स्वदत्ताम्पर दत्ताम्वा यो हरेति वसुन्धरां स विष्ठायां कृ-

28 मि भूत्वा पितृभि: सह पच्यते॥ .... (भुक्तन् संक्षेदि भवन्यत्ता) स्वल्पमायु ......वर्म्मा

29 ......इति कमल दलाम्बु बिन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च सकलमिद-

30 मुदहृतं हि बुध्वा नहि परुषै: परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या: । यावत् चन्द्रार्कज्योति: शिरासि शशिकला।—

Second Side.

31 ... ...

32 ... ...

33 ... ...

34 ... ...

A SILVER COIN OF KING PRASANNAMATRA.

(With a Legend in Box-headed Characters.)

LOCHAN PRASAD PANDEYA SARMA.

The coin was found at Sālhēpāli, a little village on the bank of the Māndha मान्ध river, a tributary of the Mahānadī, while washing sand and earth for gold-dust. by an old woman belonging the caste of gold-dust washers known as Soṅjharās or jharās. Sālhēpali,—the find-spot of this coin—is about 10 miles (N. W.) from Bālpur, my birth place, where numerous copper, silver and gold coins were found, many of which belonging to the Buddhist period. It is about 12 miles to the east from the village of Kirāri, where a wooden pillar with inscriptions on it in Brahmi characters was unearthed in 1921. Sālhēpali is within the jurisdiction of the Raigarh Feudatory State, (Chhattisgarh C. P.) and it lies within 24 miles to S. E. from the famous Singhanpūr Cave, containing the pre-historic rock-paintings. Opposite to it stands on the lett bank of the Māndha river, the important village of Tārāpūr where punch-marked coins of silver are found by the gold-washers, in a pool called the *Masāna kund* (a pool of water close to the burning ground). Rectangular copper coins of the type of Eran coins with figures of elephants and Swastika on them are sometimes found in the beds of the Māndha and the Mahanadi rivers near about Sālhēpali. The Mahākōsala Historical Society of Bilāspur C. P., possesses a number of specimens of such coins.

Sālhēpāli is about 20 miles to the N. E., from Sarangarh where a set of two copper plates of Sudēvarāja was discovered about 50 years ago. These plates are still in the possession of the present Ruling Chief of Sarangarh Fendatory state, Chhattisgarh C. P., and bear inscriptions in the *box-headed* characters The coin which I am going to describe is perfectly round and bears inscription and carvings on one side only. The other side is blank. The characters are box-headed, and the legend reads

Sri Prasanna Mātra.

श्री प्रसन्नमात्र

Its weight is 1½ māsā. In size it is a little bigger than our present day round two anna piece and a little smaller than our four annas silver bit. As I had had occasions to make a study of the copper plates of Sarabhpur Kings, it struck me at once on examining the coin that it must belong to a king of Śarabhpur.

The coin is of silver but there is a faint polish of gold all over, and consequently it has a bit of yellowish colour. The entire coin can be divided into three parts. The upper part has three figures—on one side is a figure of a disc or wheel, on the other is the figure of a *conch*, while in the middle is the representation of what may be the bust of a *Garuda* or of the king or of a goddess—Lakshmī or Gajalakshmī but (there if an absence of) the figures of elephant or of lotus-flowers which are usually found on the seals of Śarabhpur kings, Mahāsudēvarāja[1] and Mahājayarāja-dēva (Khariyār and Ārang plates) are absent here.

The 2nd or the middle part contains the legend *Srī Prasanna mātṛa*, in one line just above the legend in a boldly drawn straight line. The third part contains the *top* of a mace at the bottom in the middle straight below the figure of a supposed Garuḍa as will be seen in the photograph of the coin.[2]

I have not yet come across any antiquated coin with figures of a disc and a conch on it. No doubt the seals of Tīvaradēva—the supreme lord of Kōsala are decorated with these figures. To quote Dr. Hultzsch, "the seal of the Balōdā, (in Phuljhar Zamindari, formerly in the Sambalapur District and now in the Raipur Dist. C. P.) parts of Tīvaradēva, bears in relief on a countersunk surface across the centre a legend in two lines, at the bottom a floral device and at the top a figure of *Garuḍa* facing the front, with a *chakra* on his proper right and a *Śankha* on his proper left. (*Ep. Ind.* vol. VII. No. 13) The alphabet of the legend is of the same box-headed type asin the legend of our present coin.

The Śarabhpur kings call themselves *'Parama Bhāgavata'* परम भागवत and were apparently worshippers of God *Vishṇu*. So was the supreme Lord of Kosala, Mahā Śiva Tīvarrāja whose charters describe him as *'Parama Vaishṇava* परम वैष्णव The adoption of the emblems is, therefore, quite in consonance with the faith they professed. As neither the texts of the copper plates nor the legends on the seals belonging to Śarabhpur kings throw any light on the point of introducing their donor as lord or supreme lord of the Kōsala country, and as the characters of these records are of the same *box-headed type* as of these of Tīvaradēva, I am led to believe that these two dynasties of kings were ruling simultaneously during the period when the box-headed characters were in use in

1 In April 1929 during may visit to the famous S'ripur capital of Mahâkôsal, I was able to discover a *Seal* with three plates in box-headed characters. From the legend on this seal, I find that Mahâjayarâja was the son of Prasannamâtra. On the authority of this seal he must be accepted as the uncle of Sudèvarâja.

2 No photograph has been supplied to accompany this article.—Ed.

the Kōsala (apparently *Mahā* or Southern Kōsala) country. It is also quite probable that the Śarabhpur kings might have been vassals of Tīvararāja whose sons and grandsons were Harsh Gupta, Bhava Gupta and Śiva Gupta. No coins of any kind belonging to Tīvaradēva or his descendants have yet come to light and hence we are not in a position to say with any amount of certainity that the present coin was in imitation of Tīvaradēva's coins. If the coins of Tīvaradēva contained the figures of a disc, a *garuḍa* and a conch in the manner as these appear on his seals, it is quite probable that the Śarabhpur kings would have adopted these emblems of their soverign lord and used them on their own coins.

The seal of the Khariyar plats of king Sudēvarāja is thus described. "Its upper part shows a representation of a standing Lakshmī facing full front, on each side of her an elephant is standing on a water-lily with its trunk raised abover her head. In the proper right corner there is an expanded water-lily, in the proper left corner a *Śankha*,

Below is given the legend in two lines in the box-headed character. The legend reads:

प्रसन्नार्णव सम्भूत मानमात्रेन्दु जन्मन: ।
श्रीमत्सुदेव राजस्य स्थिरं जगतिशासनम् ।।

"May this charter of Śrī Sudēvarāja born of the moon—Mānamātra, who took his birth from the ocean of Prasanna, endure in this world." It is on the strength and authority of this legend that the following genealogy is constructed.

Prasanna[3]
|
Mānamātra
|
Mahā Sudēvarāja

The discovery of our present coin confirms the statment of the seal and proves it with authenticity that the full name of the grandfather of Mahā Sudēvaraja was Prasanna mātra.

In the absence of any specimen of a coin bearing an inscription in the box-headed characters either in the British Museum, London or in the different museums in India (Indian Museum, Calcutta; Central Museum, Nagpur C. P., Provincial Museum, Lucknow U. P.; State Museum, Gwalior

3 As stated elsewhere Prasanna Mâtra had a second son named Mahâjaya râja of whom two copper plate charters have been discovered, One set is in the Nagpur Museum, the other set is with the Taluqdar of Sirpur, C. P.

State C. I., Patna museum, Patna, Bihar & Orissa, and H. E. H. Nizam's Museum, Hyderabad (Deccan),—as I gather from enquires made from authorities of those institutions, this find has an importance of its own as representing a unique coin hitherto unknown to scholars.

Śarabhpur was the capital of Mahā Sudēvaraja and Mahājayaraja dēva. The charter of these two kings (who were nephew and uncle) were issued from this town, which still lies unidentified. Three documents, the Khariyar (*Ep. Ind.* vol IX p 170) 'Raipur[4] (*Gupta Inscriptions.* p. 196) and Sarangarh (*Ep. Ind.* vol. IX p 281) copper plates speak of of king Mahā Sudēvarāja, while the fourth the Ārang Copper plates (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p 191) speak of king Mahā Jayarāja. All these four charters are dated in the regnal years of the donors. The find-spots of these documents, Khariyar, (Dist. Raipur C. P.) Raipur, C. P, Sarangarh C. P. and Ārang (Dist. Raipur C. P.) all lie in the Chhattisgarh Division the old Mahā-Kōsala country. Adjoining the Raigarh State in which the village of Sālhēpali is situate lies the Gangpur Feudatory State where there is a big Zamindari by the name of Śarabgarh, with its chief-town or head-quarters of the same name. Can this tract of Śarabgarh claim to be the present representative of the old kingdom of Śarabhpur of historical fame?

Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreil's researches and investigations reveal the fact that the age of the box-headed 'alphabet falls between IV and V centuries A.D. The box.headed alphabet has been attributed to the 8th century A. D. by several scholars, but this is open to criticism. The Sirpur (Dist. Raipur C.P.) 'Lakshman Temple' stone inscription of Mahaśiva Gupta Bālārjuna, the grand-nephew of Mahaśiva Tīvaradēva, are not in the box-headed characters. It is in the Nāgari[5] alphabet of *kuṭil* type attributable to the 8th century A.D. The inscription is not dated and its age cannot be properly ascertained. The only inscriptional reference with regard to Śarabhpur kings is met with in the Eran (District Sagar C.P.) Posthumous stone pillar inscription of Gōparāja which is dated in the Gupta year 191 (A.D. 510—511) Gōparāja is stated in the inscriptions as the daughter's son of the *Śarabha* king, but the name of the Śarabha king is not given.

I leave the fixing of the age of the box-headed characters in use in the Mahā Kōsala country to competent scholars.

4 In the seal of the Raipur plates there is an absence of the figure of. s'ankha' or conch which finds a place in the Khariyar Seal.

5 The characters of the Lakshman temple stone inscription of Bālārjuna Mahā S'iva Gupta closely resemble those of Madhuban plates of Harsha now in the Lucknow Musem dated in the 25th year of his reign, (*Ep. Ind.*, vol, VII, p, 155)

A FRAGMENT OF A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF SRIRANGARAYA OF PENUGONDA.

Dr. C. NARAYANA RAO, M.A., L.T., PH.D.

The following is a single copper-plate recovered out of a set which must have recorded the grant of a village to a certain person. This forms the laste plate of the set which must originally have consisted of more than two plates. The rest of the plates are now last, but the present one was recovered from the Nāyani family of Pātapālyam, otherwise known as Gummanāyanipālyam in the Bāgepalli Talākā of the Hindupur division by M. R. Ry. Vārtakavi Rāmachandra Rao Garu, B.A. B.L., and kindly sent to me by M, R. Ry. Rāllapalli Gāpālakrishna Śarma Garu.

The plate is in the manner of the ordinary Vijayanagara grants, a rectangular portion surmounted by an arch. The length of the plate in the centre is 10" and the length of the rectangular portion is 7-7/10". The breadth is 7-4/5". The Vijayanagara seal is connected with the plate bv means of a ring. The seal is 6" round and is 6" in circumstance. It bears in releaf the figure of the boar to the proper left and the sword to the proper right, supported on a pedestal standing on a pillar. On either side of the piller there is a floral design, and in the upper portion of the seal. there are the emblems of the sun and the moon.

The plate is the last one in the set. The rest of the plates are lost. The rim of this plate is raised inside and protects the writing on the inner face. Tho writing on this face is in Dēvanāgari characters of the usual Vijayanagara style and the following information alone can be gleaned from it.

"By the order of Śrīrangarāya, who was possessed of statecraft, and famous, and whose charity was like that of the branches of the mighty suppressor of Bala (Indra), the son of the *Sabhāpati*, who was a *Brahma*, issuing orders to the poets, dictated the verses of the copper plate grant in a sweet manner. By the order of Śrīrangarāya, the auspicious Gaṇapayāchārya, the son of Vīraṇa, inscribed this copper-plate grant." Then follow the usual imprecatory verses, after which the ordinary "Śrī Virūpāksha" finishes the grant.

The outer face of this plate was originally blank and was utilized by a later person who came into possession of it to get another inscrip-

tion written on it. Perhaps, this person also came accross this plate alone. The inscription on this side also is incomplete. It is in Telugu characters. I give here a translation of this portion.

"You should know the settlement of 12 *garces* (of paddy) by this Vālmīki Pedda Bādayya.

May it be auspicious! The detailed statement got written by Dēvappa Aṁtana Pantula varu, that it may be known to the members of our family. In the *Śālivāhana Śaka* year one thousand four hundred and fifty, the year *Sarvadhārī*, *Kārtika*, dark fortnight, the twelfth *tithi*, the *Sārvabhauma* king Krishṇarāya gave again. In the year *Sarvadhāri*, *Kārtika*, dark fortnight, the twelfth day, when Krishāarāyal-*ayyavāru* with the titles '*ū (sic.) rurāyaragaṇḍa*' and '*Śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*' flung his sword in (the fort of) Kalyāṇa-Kalubarigi, Chinnamanāyadu, the son of Gumminayana Lakshmi-nāyaḍu, along with Peda Bōdeyya, son of Pedda Vīra Chinnayya of Vālmiki Nāgasamudramu, entered the fort-gates and established themselves there; so, *Rāyal-ayyavāru* (i. e., Krishṇadēvarāya) asked them what reward they wanted; and they represented that they might be given (the village of) Guyyalūru as well as Bāgāpalli in the Ghanagiri (i. e., Penugonda division.); and the king accordinglv granted them (their request). He also gave this Peda-Bōḍeyya the headship of the caste, the authority to determine injustice and justice, and exemption of taxes over (the village of) Nāgasamudraṁ. When Maṁgi nāyaḍu brought an action that that the authorlty over Guyyalūru belonged to him, he (the king) determined that they should share it half and half. Chaṁcharāyanipalle is our '*agrahāra*'; he (Manginayāḍu) was deprived of anything to do with it. Amuḍuguru is in the Tummalamala district; therefore it was determined that he should have nothing to do with it. Nayanivāru to give us an yearly living wage of 12 garces (of pady)........."

The rest is incomplete. This Telugu portion seems to be a later forgery by the descendants of one Peda Bāḍeyya who must have come into possession of Nāgasamudraṁ long after the time of Śrīrangarāya. This Śrīranga, I think, is Śrīranga I, the successor of Tirumaladēvarāya. The complete set of plates must have been in the possession of the donees for at least more than one generation when they were either lost, excepting the present one, or the rest might have been intentionally suppressed. The hero who entered the fort and brought back the sword flung into it by Krishṇadēvarāya is said to be one Sadāśiva nāyaka. The *Śivatattva-ratnākara* by Kēladirāya gives the story of the story of the seizure of Kalyāṇa-Kalubarige wherein the flinging of the sword called "*Yamadaṁshṭrika*" into the fort is mentioned. My friend Mr. Viśvanātha Satyanārayana, M.A. of Masulipatam has beautifully rendered this incident into

Telugu verse in his little collection of poems "*Āndhra-praśasti*", but he mentions in it that it was Rāmarāya that flung the sword into the fort. We have perhaps to surmise that the flinging of a sword into the fort by the commander who was besieging it was an ordinary device to infuse enthusiasm and bravery into the hearts of the more dashing spirits in his camp.

It is doubtful if we have to identify Sadāsivanāyaka with the Chinnamanāyaḍu of the present inscription. The descendants of this Chinnamanāyadu are still living in Pātapālyam, also known a Gummanā-yanipālayam and the present plate has been obtained from the house of one of them. To this house of Chinnamanāyaḍu perhaps belonged Kadirīpatināyaka, the auther of the Telugu poetical wotk "*Śukasaptati*" who describes himself therein as "*Khadirā-dhara-maṇḍal-ādhyakshaḥ.*"

INNER FACE.

1 tad-idaṁ | naya-dhuryasya prathita-Śrīraṁgarāya-varyasya | śāsanam-ativala-śā-

2 sana-taru-kara-dānasya guṇa-nidānasya | Śrīraṁgarāya-nṛipatēś-śāsanata

3 stāmra-śāsana-ślōkān | kavi-śāsana-svayaṁbhūs-sarasam-abhāṇis-sabhā-patē-

4 ssūnuḥ | Śrīraṁgarāya-bhūpāla-śāsanād-Vīranātmajaḥ | Śrīmad-Gaṇa-paya

5 -chāryyō vy-alikhēt tāmra-śāsanaṁ|| dāna-pālanayōr-madhyē dānācchrē-yōnu-pā-

6 lanaṁ | dānāt-svargam-avāpnōti pālanād-achyutaṁ padaṁ|| Sva-dattā-dviguṇaṁ pu-

7 ṇyaṁ para-dattānupālanaṁ | para-datt-āpahārēṇa sva-dattaṁ nishphalaṁ bhavēt | sva-dattāṁ vāsō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ | shashtirvarsha-sahas-rāni vishṭāyāṁ

9 jāyatē krimih | yēk-aiva bhaginī lōkē sarvēshām-ēva bhubhujāṁ na bhōjyā na

10 kara-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasumdharā|| sāmāny-ōyaṁ dharma-sēturnṛipāṇāṁ kālē kā

11 -lē pālanīyō bhavadbiḥs-sarvān-ētā bhāvinaḥ pārthiv-ēndrān bhūyō bhūyō yā-

12 chatē Rāmachamdrah||Śrī|| = ||

Śrī Virūpāksha.

OUTER FACE.

1 Ī Vālmīka Peda bōḍayya
2 12 *ga nirnayaṁ chēsinadi teli-
3 sēdi | śrīr-astu
4 śubham-astu] Dēvappa Aṁtaṇa Pantulavāru ma-
5 na vaṁśasthulaku teliyavalen-ani vrāyiṁchina vivaramu.
6 Śak-ābdē Śālivāhaśya sahasrē tu chatuś-śatam paṁch-
7 dvatsara-yutē Sarvadhārini vatsarē | Kārtikyām Kṛishṇa-pakshē tu
8 Dvādaśām cha pramōdataḥ Krishṇarāya-mahīpāla-sārva-
9 bhaumah pṛthak-dadhau | Sarvadhāri-saṁvatsara Kārtika Kṛishṇa-pa
10 -ksha-Dvādaśi nāḍu Ururāyara-gaṁḍa Śrīman-mahāmaṇḍa
11 lēśvara-Kṛishnarāyal-ayyavāru Kalyāṇa-Kalubarigi-
12 lōbāku vēsin-apuḍu Gumminâyana-Lakshmināyani-Chiṁnna-
13 ma-nāyaḍu Vālmīka-Nāgasamudraṁ Peddavīra-Chinna-
14 ya-komāruḍu Peddabōdeyyitō kūḍā laggana
15 chochhi ṭhāṇā vēsiri ganaka Rāyal-ayyavāru bahu-
16 mānam yēmi kāvalen-ani aḍagaga Ghanagirilō chelle Gu-
17 yyalūru Bāgepalle saha dayatsāyavalen-ani ma-
18 navi chēyaga adē prakāraṁ ippiṁchiri | yī Pedabō-
19 ḍeyyaku yī Chinnamanāyaṇi śīmalō kulaṁ pedda tana
20 mu tapu-vopulu-vartana Nāgasamudraṁ-vuṁbaḷi sa
21 ha ichiri | Guyyalūru vartanalu māvi ani Maṁgi
22 nāyaḍu vyavahāraṁ chēyaga vīriki ardhaṁ vāriki a-
23 rdhaṁ nirnayaṁ chēsiri Cheṁcharanāyanipalle mana agra-
24 hāraṁ vīriki panilēkuṁḍā chēsiri Amuḍugūru
25 Tummalāmala-nāḍulō chellēdi ganuka vīriki pani
26 lēkuṁḍa chēśiri manaku varshāśanaṁ nāyaui vāruga 24—

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION. *

GWALIOR SESSION, Dec. 1929.

R. SUBBA RAO, M-A.,L.T.

The Twelfth Session of the I. H. R, Commission took place at the Jhansi Building on Saturday, the 21st December 1929, before a distinguished audience consisting of the Permanent, Co-opted, and Corresponding members and the public of the place. A special feature of the Session this year is the participation of two Indian ladies, Lady Luxmibai Rajawade and Lady Mamalabai Kibe as co-opted members. Col. Gabriel, the Resident and members of the Gwalior Government attended the opening meeting. The Home Member of the Gwalior Durbar, Shrimant Sadashiv Rao Khasa Sahib Pawar while opening the proceedings read the following Message of Welcome from Her Highness the Senior Maharani Sahiba:

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN!

On behalf of Her Highness the Senior Maharani Sahiba Scindia, President of the Council and the Council, I feel great pleasure in welcoming you to Gwalior, the Capital of that illustrious family of Rulers, who figured so prominently in the past and helped to make Indian History in several momentous epochs. We have to-day gathered together in a place, rich with Historical associations, that can never be forgotten. I hope that you will feel that all the worry and trouble attendant upon your long journey has been amply compensated by the pilgrimage to this historic place. On occasions like the present, one is naturally put in mind of those whom one respects, admires and loves. Picturing to myself the towering personality of His late Highness Madhav Rao, Maharaja Scindia extending a cordial reception to you, I stand before you to welcome you on behalf of the Gwalior Darbar with a crushing sense of 'a vacant Chair', a gap no attempts on my part can ever fill up. His presence would have been a source of inspiration and you would have taken back sweet memories of the Session at Gwalior. Nevertheless, I hope your stay will be happy. The Darbar will spare no pains to make the Session as great a success as possible.

* The writer of this article was deputed to attend the Session by the Society. He was appointed, by the Government of India, as a Corresponding Member of the Commission and as a Co-opted Member for the Gwalior Session.

2. I am thankful to the Government of India for kindly assenting to our proposal of holding the Session of the Historical Records Commission at Gwalior this year. I feel there is a particular significance in the arrival of the Commission here. It is not too much to say that Gwalior has left an indelible mark on the annals of the whole Empire from the Capital of India in the North to its Capital in the South, and this influence Gwalior exercised not only since the entry of the Marathas in the Northern theatre but long before they were known to History. Gwalior, so rich in art and architecture, has got standing witnesses in the form of its monuments and mausoleums, its architecture and sculpture, testifying to the vicissitudes, through which the Empire has passed from time to time and marking the stages of civilisation, India has been able to evolve. A visit to the Fort and its suburbs and a glance at the work which the Archæological Department of the State has turned out, will convince even the most casual observer of the historical and cultural wealth of Gwalior.

3. We have thus gathered in the midst of the charms of the Muse of History. I need hardly emphasize the importance of Gwalior for the research worker. When you move round the city and see for yourself the marks that have survived the destructive stroke of time, you will, I am sure, be convinced of the rich field that awaits the labours of a scholar of history. If research operations are properly conducted, I am sure, new materials would be discovered which would throw a flood of light on obscure corners of our past annals and many a missing link may be supplied. I therefore, invite the earnest attention of the Commission to the work that awaits them in this part of the Country.

4. Speaking with special reference of the Scindia House so far available I am afraid the materials are rather scanty. The three first generations the Scindia dynasty had their own problems to solve and lived in troublesome times. They were too much engrossed in their own affairs to be able to pay any attention to the preservation of records and the plain, blunt and rugged manner of their life so characteristic of the early Marathas, was hardly suited to the pursuit of such a task. Truth to say, the historic instinct had not been sufficiently awakened in them for want of peace and leisure for literary pursuits. I am not speaking in derogation of the Marathas. They were engaged in bringing to fruition the 'increasing purpose' of their special mission, so aptly snmmed up by Samarth Ramadas in the two words "*M a h ā r ā s h ṭ r a D h a r m a*" for which their hero, the great Shivāji "lived and died as none could live or die." For reasons just stated, nothing was done to preserve its records on modern lines till His late Highness Maharaja Madhav Rao Scindia assumed the Administration of the State. The confused condition of records could not escape the

Patron, President and Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.
12th Session held in Dec 1929, at Gwalior.

penetrating gaze of that all-pervading Genius and he was the first to organise the Department of Records. With a prophetic vision he foresaw, decades ahead, the coming movement of historic research and undertook the spadework, opening the Archæological Department, which was followed by the institution of the Records Department, thus smoothening the path for the coming research-worker. But the absence of Historical Records at Gwalior need not disappoint us. The impression of the finger of Gwalior might be perceived from Bengal to the Punjab in the North, Rajputana and Gujerat in the West, the Bombay Presidency in the South and Nagpur and Orissa in the East. Records of the Gwalior Rulers may, therefore, be found scattered all over the Country. They will have to be sought mainly at Delhi, Agra, Kotah. Calcutta, Poona as also in most of the Rajputana States. The task is so huge that a body such as the Historical Commission alone is competent to handle it properly.

5. The Indian Nation is at present in the throes of a new birth in which all the different sections are expected to contribute the best that they can bring out from their past. Hence there is the great necessity of Research work at the present moment. But such an important study presupposes plentiful original material pertaining to all the communities and languages of the past and a central place where facilities for study could be provided. A critical study of Indian History is only just beginning and deserves to be fostered by the Universities and other public bodies. Madras, Calcutta and Maharashtra have already pushed on all-sided research in India's past History. But I am afraid Northern India is yet lagging behind, owing to various causes. Malwa, Bundelkhand, Rajputana and the United Provinces are all full of original materials which need to be collected and studied in some central place. The visit of this august body *viz*, the Historical Records Commission for the first time to an Indian State will, I hope, create the necessary interest in future in Historical research and will indirectly prove that so far as interests of history are concerned, the Indian states have much to contribute towards the study of history in which Gwalior would like to do its part for the common object of Indian history.

In view of these observations, the Commission may, perhaps, think of instituting branches of Research Societies in North India with their centre at Gwalior, working on the lines of those in the South. Such a movement seems to me to be pregnant with great issues. Perhaps the paucity of workers may be considered as a deterrent in this connection. But in recent times wide interest in research-work has been sufficiently awakened to warrant the institution of such societies. The Historical

Commission has itself done much by its sittings at various places to merit the thanks of persons interested in history, and perhaps no dearth of workers will be felt now.

6, I would now pass on to an important branch of the study of history. Farmans and Sanads in the possession of individuals have their own significance in the construction of History. If a genuine Sanad may illuminate doubtful points of history, counterfeit sanads may distort it. A proper scrutiny of Sanads has thus its own importance like the proper deciphering of inscriptions. But little attention seems to have been paid to this branch of study. It is often very difficult to distinguish a genuine Sanad from a counterfeit one in the absence of standardised formulæ of judging them. I believe a close and comparative study of a number of Sanads belonging to different periods and different dynasties may help the research worker to formulate certain rules about judging their genuineness. It is necessary to find out essential features common to all Sanads without which their genuineness may fairly be questioned. The Non-essentials cannot also be ignored. For this purpose the Sanads may be divided into three periods (1) Pre-Maratha period (2) Maratha period and (3) Modern period, the last roughly dating from the commencement of the 19th century. It is not unlikely that certain features common to all Sanads might be discovered. There may be others also peculiar to certain divisions of time and place only. Peculiarities may also be observed in the case of certain Rulers and States. I think a pretty good Science may be evolved, dividing, defining, labelling them.

7. Every Government acts through agents, and the families of old Ministers of State, Generals and Diplomats in every Country often possess contemporary letters, diaries and account-books which illustrate the careers of their great ancestors and throw valuable light on the history of the State they served and the economic conditions of the times they lived in. Thus, the family archives of the historical noble families of England have made very important contributions to English history and supplied gaps in the State papers possessed by Government.

In Central India, the need of searching such family records for historical materials is still stronger, in view of the recent origin and incomplete condition of our Government record collections. I appeal to the ancient Jagirdar families of the State and to all private persons who may possess historical records, bearing on the past of the land, we live in, to report the fact to the Central Record Office at Gwalior and to any historical society that may be founded for Malwa on the lines suggested by me, and to allow us to preserve the originals or at least copies of them, so that research workers may find all their materials at one place. This

is a patriotic task in which every one of us, living even in obscure places, may render some assistance.

8. I would draw your attention to one more point before I conclude. Time has now come when the research worker should widen his outlook and instead of confining himself to the study of Political event alone, should extend his vision so as to include all aspects of man, social, religious, economical, etc., in his study. History, in its proper sense should present the whole civilisation evolved from past events, dealing with social manners and customs, religious problems and dogmas, philosophical speculations and propositions, economical and industrial developments, political aspirations, doubts and fears entertained from time to time by the races comprised in the Nation. It would for instance, not only be interesting but also instructive to trace the present communal tension to its origin in the past and find out if it is a disease ingrained in the body politic itself or is merely a surface growth of modern times' super-imposed by interested parties. Such a study of history might not only illuminate the past but would also clear up the path for all sided reform. If the present is the outcome of the accumulated past, the future would grow out of the present. I am conscious of the many influences at work, counteracting the attempts of man and the limitations with which he is circumscribed. And yet, I believe that while on the one hand, man is the creature of his times, he is also their creator on the other. Viewed from this stand-point, history would be a more useful science, if the present angle of vision is changed and its range is broadened. Our research, therefore, should include all the movements now afoot in the Country. The question of the untouchables, communal troubles, social iniquities, in fact, all aspects of life of the Nation deserve our attention and research work should be directed accordingly.

9. To sum up, I have placed the following questions before the commission for their consideration.—

(1) Search of the Records of the Rulers of Gwalior at different places.

(2) Institution of Historical Research Societies in North India with their centre at Gwalior.

(3) Study of Sanads and Farmans.

(4) Change in the angle of vision and the broadening of the range of research work.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to say that it was the life-work of His late Highness the Maharaja Scindia to bring about a harmonious fusion of all the civilisations represented by the different creeds and communities of India. Research work in history, if conducted in a scientific spirit, would be a powerful incentive towards this fusion of the

various discordant elements in the Nation into a homogeneous whole. All our prejudices have to to be shaken off before we can approach the pure and ennobling atmosphere with which the study of History is invested. No sex disabilities can darken it; no communal bias can taint it. Man and woman, Hindu and Mohammedan, Christian and Jew, all can join hands in a spirit of true brotherhood. The work, we have set before ourselves, will not only lift the curtain over the past but will also prove a seminary for the training and much needed discipline for true citizenship.

With these remarks, I once more welcome you to Gwalior and hope your stay here will be happy and "we shall this day light such a lamp in the country as shall never be put out."

In the course of his Presidential speech SIR FRANK NOYCE Kt., C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S. expressed the thanks of the Commission, and paid a tribute to the late Maharaja of Gwalior for the good work he did for his State and for India. The following are extracts from his speech:—

"I am sure my colleagues on the Commission would like me to take this, the first public opportunity we have had, of congratulating Sir JADUNATH SARKAR on the honour conferred upon him by His Majesty the King-Emperor in the last honours list. Sir Jadunath has shown that India can produce historians worthy to rank with the greatest names of the West. He has shown that it is possible to combine wide and deep scholarship with literary grace.

I share the feeling of my predecessors that there are many members of the Commission here today who could fill the president's chair far more ably than the Secretary of the Government in the Department of Health and Lands can hope to do.

On an occasion such as this, it is customary to say something about the work of the Historical Records Commission. It is, perhaps, specially desirable that I should do so to-day when I have I think the privilege of addressing a much larger audience than did most of my predecessors.

This is the 12th meeting of the commission which was constituted in 1919 in order that it might advise as to the best method of co-ordinating the work done by the Government of India, the Local Governments and by the Indian States in preserving their records and in making them more accessible to the public in general and to research workers in particular.

Of the value of the work the Commission has done in this advisory capacity; the state of our records rooms to-day, as compared with that which existed when the Commission came into being, bears ample testimony. But the advisory work of the Commission, important as it is, has become only part of its activities,

As Sir Jadunath Sarkar aptly said at Nagpur last year, from a small and purely advisory body of experts, it has become a large and elastic hand of explorers and collectors of Government records with the task of preserving which it was originally entrusted.

However, through the stimulus provided by the Commission's discussions, by the papers, communicated to it and, perhaps, more than anything else, by the exhibitions it has organised in conjunction with its meetings, private records have been tempted from their hiding places in increasing numbers and made available to scholars.

Amongst my multifarious activities is that of general supervision of the Imperial Secretary at Library and in pursuance of this task I study publishers' lists with some care. One feature in these lists is very noticeable. It is the way in which the output of really valuable works on Indian history is steadily increasing. That also is due, I am certain, in no small measure to the existence of this Commission, the members of which have set a noble example in that respect.

Even I have made my own very humble contribution in the shape of an essay on the relations of the British Empire in India with Afghanistan with which I won a prize at Cambridge some 30 years ago. I am thinking in all seriousness of suggesting to our Secretary that to the next report of our proceedings should be added a bibliography of the published works of our members.

It is specially fitting that I should say something to-day about the connection of the Commission with the Indian States of which this meeting represents the culmination. The importance of enlisting their interest in the work of the Commission was recognised at the outset and, at its very first meeting, a resolution seeking their co-operation was passed. The States of Baroda, Gwalior and Indore were requested to send representatives to future meetings. Baroda and Indore responded, but Gwalior did not. You will agree that it has since rectified the omission in a most princely way. At the second meeting, the representatives of those States submitted notes which were much appreciated and which showed the work which has been done on their records.

The note from Baroda also showed that the invitation to the Durbar had resulted in the appointment of a committee to do for the State work similar to that done by this Commission for British India.

At the last year's meeting, the question of deputation of the members of the Commission to Indian States was raised, but the Commission decided that it would not move in the matter, but would be prepared to consider the case of any particular State which might desire to have its record rooms inspected by members of the Commission, or to seek the

advice of the Commission on matters relating to the treatment of the official records of the States.

In addition to the representatives from Baroda and Indore, we have had at one or other of our recent meetings representatives from Hyderabad, Kolhapur, Benares and Rampur. That is how matters stand at present.

I should, perhaps, add that at the request of the Jaipur Durbar, members of the staff of the repairing section of the Imperial Record Department have been deputed to Jaipur to teach the art of mending old and dilapidated records.

The Nizam's Government has recently asked for the loan of officers, for the same purpose. The Raj Daftardar of Baroda has visited the Imperial Record Department specially to learn this art and his librarian is still under training there.

I think what I have said shows that there is increasing co-operation between the States and British India in furthering the cause of historical research and I have no doubt, whatever, that our meeting here to-day marks the commencement of a new and much more fruitful era in this respect that the meeting is a landmark in our history.

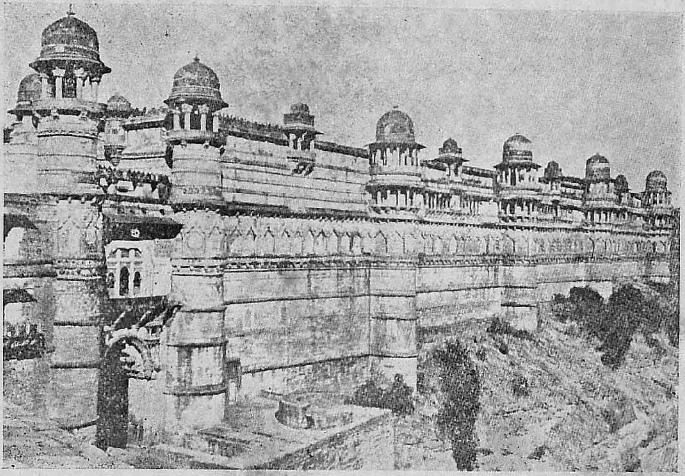
There is another landmark which I should be failing in chivalry if I did not mention. This is the first occasion on which ladies have been co-opted as members of the Commission. I cannot but regard this as a most happy coincidence in view of the deep interest which Her Highness the Senior Maharani has been good enough to evince in our deliberations.

There has been one change in the personnel of the Commission to which I should refer. Mr. Ramsbotham's term of office as a permanent member came to an end during the last year and he has been replaced by Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan from the United Provinces. It was felt that our membership being limited we ought to vary it as occasion offered. Mr. Ramsbotham has done much valuable work and on this occasion I am glad that he is with us to-day in a different capacity.

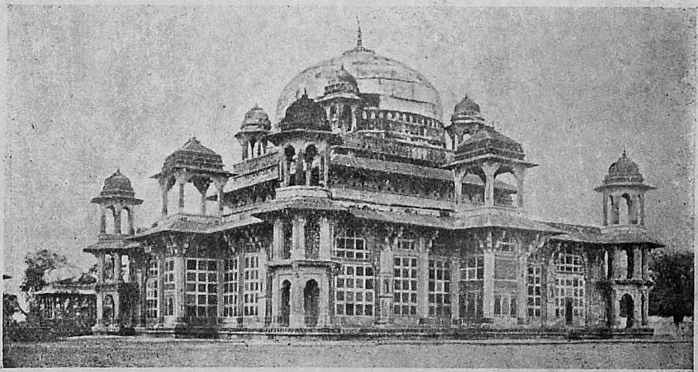
I also have great pleasure in welcomnig Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan who will, I am sure, be as great a source of strength to us as was his predecessor. One distinguished scholar has succeeded another.

To my fellow members of the Historical Records Commission I have a message to deliver from Sir Muhammad Habibullah. It is that the Government of India deeply appreciate their unremitting, unostentatious and wholly disinterested labours in the cause of historical research."

Then the Reading of papers commenced. After the reading of seven interesting papers, two of which related to the capture of the fort of Gwalior, the Morning Session was adjourned.

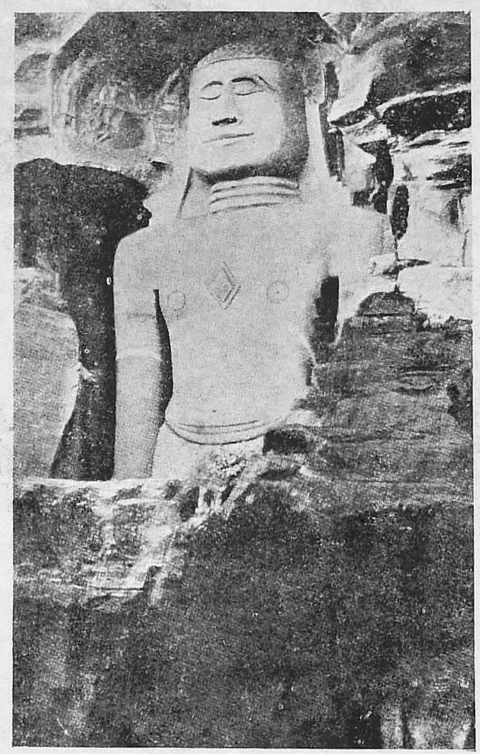


Mana Mandir of Raja Mansingh's Palace.



Tomb of Muhammed Ghaus, a well known contemporary of Babar, Humayun and Akbar.

A Jain Tirthamkara.



A Jaina Statue. 57 feet high.

After lunch, the reading of the remaining papers was continued till 4 P.M., when the members of the Commission reached the Jhansi Building to receive H. H. the Maharaja Scindia, Alijah Bahadur and to sit for a photo with him and with the members of his Government there. H. H. the Maharaja then formally opened the Historical Exhibition Exhibits including ancient armory, Coins, Copper plates, Palmyrah leaf Manuscripts, Persian Farmans, Drawings and Paintings, Maps and Records, supplied by Native States, India Government, Reasearch Societies and Individual Scholars were all displayed in the spacious Halls of the Jhansi Building. At 5-15 P.M., an 'At Home' was given by Members of the Elgin Club at the Club premises in honour of the Commission. On Sunday, 22nd December, all the members assembled at the Grand Hotel at 8 A. M. from where they motored to the Tomb of the Mohamadan Saint, Mohammed Ghaus Tausen the 'Orpheus of India', who was a contemporary of Baber, Humayun and Akber. The Gwalior Fort Album gives the following account of it:

'The tomb stands about a quarter of a mile to the east of Gwalior Fort and is an interesting example of Early Mughal Tomb Architecture. On plan, it is a square measuring 100 ft. each way exclusive of the hexagonal towers which are attached to the angles. The chamber of the tomb itself is a hall 43 ft square with the angles cut off by pointed arches so as to form an octagon on which the dome rests. Around this square building is a gallery 20 ft. wide enclosed on two sides by a screen of the most exquisite tracery in pierced stone work with a projecting porch on each face." (*vide* Photo print)

Then the party rode on elephant back into the fort of Raja Man Singh. (*vide* photo print of Man Mandir or Raja Man Singh's Palace, East face). This is one of the greatest and the most famous of the forts of India. Its location, antiquity, military strength and natural grandeur all alike have made it famous. The party entered from the east crossing the first two gates and coming into touch with the Gujari Mahal now an old but still picturesque a palace, first built by Man Singh at the close of 15th century for his queen, a Gujari by caste. "The vast eastern face of the palace which measures 300 ft in length, and 80 ft in height is relieved at regular intervals by six round towers of a singularly pleasing design and crowned with domed cupolas." The fort itself has varied but interesting story to tell, A legend states that Suraj Sen, a Kachhwaha Rajput founded it at the bidding of a hermit named Gwalipa who cured the prince of leprosy. An inscription in the Sun temple on Gwalior hill states that Matricheta built it in the 15th regnal year of Mihiragula, the Hun Emperor (525 A.D.) Two inscriptions dated 875 and 876 A.D., found in Chaturbhuja temple, state that Gwalior was included in the kingdom of

Kanauj, then under the Pratihara king Mihira Bhoja. Then the Kachhwahas, Pratiharas, and Mohamadans ruled over it until in 1400, the Tomara Rajputs got control over it. It was during their regime that the Rock-cut Jaina Sculptures were made. (*Vide* the photo print of Jain Tirthamkara and Jain Statue).

In the Gwalior fort are found the Sas-Bahu (Mother-in-law and Daughter-in-law temples (*vide* photo print) which were built in the 11th century by Mahipala of Gwalior, and dedicated to Vishnu. The Telika Mandir (Telingana Mandir or Telugu temple) is the loftiest of all temples in the fort. It is also dedicated to Vishnu. Its *Śikhara* is Dravidian in style though the ornate design is Indo-Aryan. It is over 100 ft. in height

At Noon, the party visited the Record Office of the Gwalior Durbar and met for the Business meeting in the Council Chamber in the Moti Mahal. Among other things the Agenda consisted of:

(1) Review of the action taken on the Resolutions of the Commission passed at the 11th Session at Nagpur.

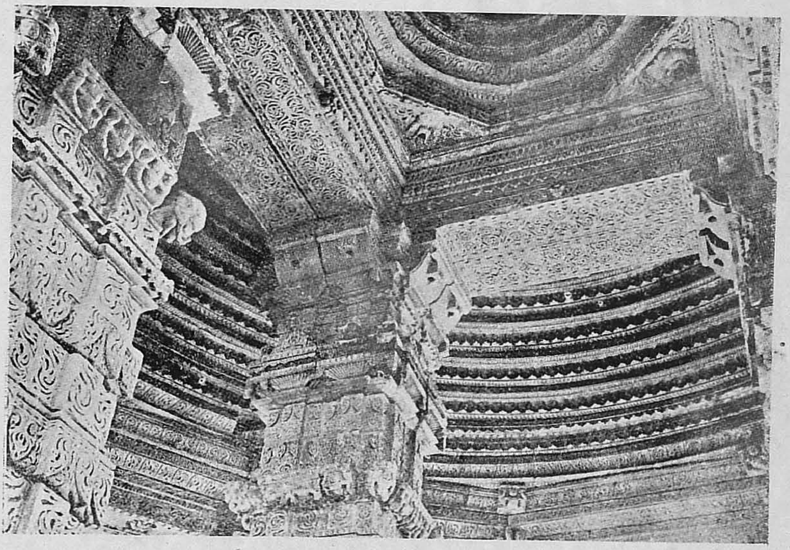
(2) Establishment of a Central Society in Malava and Rajputana for collecting historical records in the possession of Indian States or private individuals.

(3) Preservation of the Mackenzie Collection of Manuscripts.

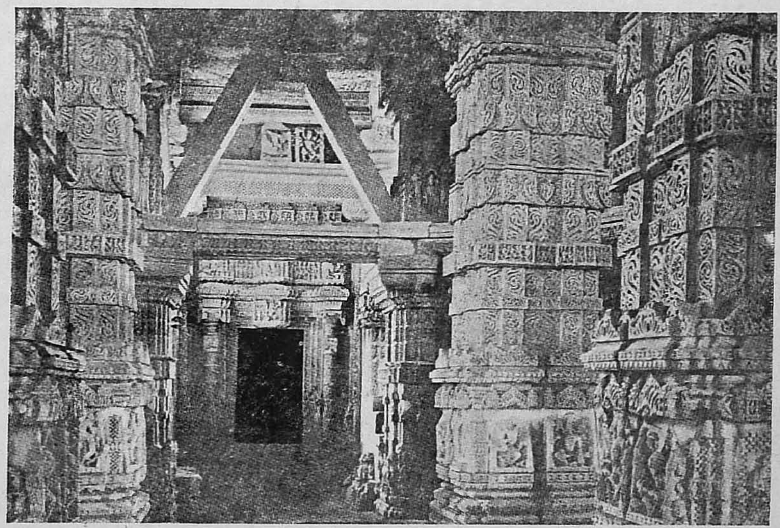
Reports of researeh work done by (1) The Rev. Father H. Herras S.J., M.A. of Bombay and (2) Mr. R. Subba Rao, M, A., L.T. of Rajahmundry-Corresponding Members of the Commission, along with Reports of Records Offices in India and other reports and publications were laid on the table for perusal of members. In the evening, the party visited Jai Vilas Palace and the Archaeological Museum where H. H. Maharaja Scindia was 'At Home' in honour of the Commission. At 8-15 P.M., a grand dinner in honour of the Commission was arranged at the Grand Hotel by the Association of Sardars and Jagirdars of Gwalior.

At 8 A.M. on Monday, the 23rd December, at the invitation of the Army Member of the Gwalior Government, all the members of the Commission attended the Review of the Gwalior Forces on the Parade Ground, in the presence of His Excellency the Commander-in-chief in India. The Review of the Gwalior Forces which number in all about 10,000 was very pleasant and exciting. At 10 A.M. the members sat for a photo with H.H. the Maharaja in the grounds of the Jai Vilas Palace. In the evening, the Army Officers invited the members for Tea when military games and sports were displayed.

In conclusion, it must be gratefully acknowledged that the Gwalior Darbar spared no pains to make the Commission's stay at Gwalior as pleasant and instructive as possible.



Larger Sas Bâhu Temple: Dome and Ceiling



Larger Sas Bahu Temple: Interior: Pillars.

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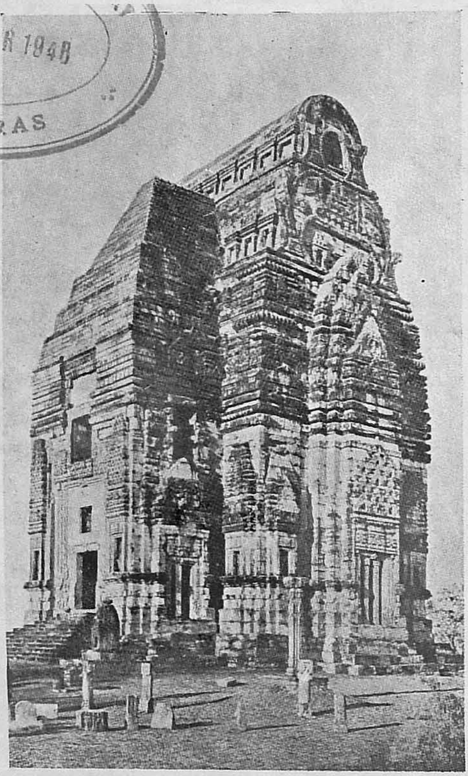
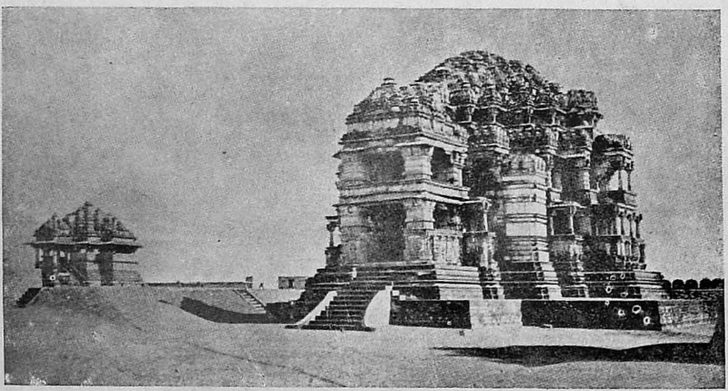


Telika Mandir: 100 ft. high, a 10th century Vishnu Temple with the Dravidian type of Sikhara.



Sas Bahu Temples, Gwalior Fort

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

K. VENKATAPPAYYA, B.A., B.L., B.Ed.

INTRODUCTION.

The ancient period of Indian History may well be divided into two definite epochs for our present purpose. The first epoch embraced the period between *Circa* 3000 B. C. and 300 B. C. and the second period between 300 B.C. and 800 A.D. The first epoch saw the composition of the Vedic *Saṁhitas*, the *Brāhamaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Sūtras*, and the Epics; during this period Law and Philosophy were developed. The celebrated Grammarian Pāṇini who lived about the seventh centuary B. C. and composed his immortal Grammar. The second period was productive of greater intellectual activity than the first. Classical Sanskrit developed in this period and the best works in Sanskrit literature and Science were produced. Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, poets and dramatists of the first order, Amarasiṁha the lexicographer, Bhartṛihari the morālist-poet and king, and the renowned astronomers Ārayabhaṭṭa Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta flourished in this period. The *Augustan age* of the Tamil literature, during which tbe famous Tamil classics like *Maṇi Mēkhalai*, and the *Kuṛal* were composed, falls within this epoch. Nammāḷvār, who lived about 6th or 7th century A.D., rendered into Tamil the Vedas from Sanskrit, and the first Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyaṁ* was composed about the 8th century. Medicine was much advanced, and architecture, sculpture, painting and music were also fostered. What Capt. Cunningham says in the following lines may well be supposed to be applicable to this epoch. "The philosophy of the learned few was perhaps for the first time firmly allied with the theology of the believing many, and Brahmanism laid down as articles of faith the unity of God, the creation of the world, the immortality of the soul, and the responsibility of man. The remote dwellers upon the Ganges distinctly made known that future life about which Moses is silent or obscure, and that unity and omnipotence of the creator which were unknown to the Polytheism of the Greek and the Roman multitude and to the dualisn of Mithric legislators; while Vyāsa perhaps surpassed Plato in keeping the people tremblingly alive to the punishment which awaited evil doers." (*History of the Sikhs* pp. 25—29). Weber writes thus of the antiquity of the Indian literature: "The literature of India passes generally for the most ancient literature of which we posses written records and justly so." (*History of*

Indian Literature, p. 2). Writing about the achievements of the Hindus, C. F. Tavernier says, in his "Education of the People of India thus:" "The best of what they can do is what they have done. Their ponderous and elaborate grammatical system, their wonderfully subtle metaphysical distinction show them to have a German perseverence and a great actuness; and they have not been failing in poetry. What may we not expect from their power of mind invigorated by cultivation of true science and directed towards worthy objects, (page 111). Schopenhaeur writes thus of the *Upanishads*: "In the whole world, there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the *Upanishads*. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death." The eulogism of Goethe on *Abhijñānā Śākuntalam* is so well-known to be repeated here,

Education in ancient India may be considered under the following heads: (1) Education in the first epoch or education in the Vedic period. (2) Education in the second epoch or the Buddhist Education. (3) The Education of women (4) Popular Elementary Education, and (5) Centres of learning in the ancient period.

I

Education in the first epoch or Education in the Vedic period: *Circa* 3000 B.C. to *Circa* 300 B.C. Some knowledge of the kind of Education given in this epoch may be gleaned from the *Samhitas* of the Vedas, the *Brāhmdṇās*, and the *Upanishads*. But it is the *Sutras* that furnish a complete account of the system of the Education in this epoch. The *Grihya Sutras* deal with the life of a Hindu, (strictly speaking of the follower of the Brahmanical religion,) and prescribe the duties and regulations that should be kept in his view in his conduct of life. The Education of a boy was one of the duties imposed upon a member of the twice-born classes (*dvijāḥ*) and it was attended with many formalities and rituals.

As is well-known, the life of a Hindu centres round Religion. Every activity of the Hindu, social or otherwise has some bearing on Religion, and Education forms no exception. The Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and the Vysyas formed the three important communities in the ancient Hindu society, and it was the members of these communities alone that were entitled to the study of the *Vēda* which in its later development, included secular learning as well. The kind of instruction imparted was in the main, the same except for certain minor distinctions which were, however, ignored on emergent occasions. Thus the *Brāhmaṇa* was to be initiated in eigth year, the *Rājanya* (*Kṣatriya*) in the eleventh year, and the *Vysya* twelfth year after conception. The seasons appropriate for the performance of the initiation (*Upanayana*) ceremony varied, as also the kind of staff, girdle, and the garment with which the boy was invested

on the occasion of his initiation. The life of a student in ancient India may be divided into four stages, namely (1) the ceremony of initiation (*Upanayana*) which made the pupil entitled to study the *Vēda*, (2) The study of the *Vēda*, which the pupil made while residing in the house of his "*guru*" or spiritual preceptor. (3) The *Samāvartana*, the ceremony of taking the bath which terminated the study, and (4) *Snātaka*, during which stage, the young man had to lead a perfectly restrained moral and religious life as a preparation for his entry into the *Āśrama* of a *Grihasta*.

And first as regards "*Upanayana*", this forms the most important of the ceremonies which a student had to go through. This ceremony was binding upon all the members of the twice born (*dvijāh*) community. A *Brāhmana* could not be initiated after his sixteenth year a *Kṣatriya* after his twenty-second year and a *Vysya* after his twenty-fourth year. A person whose *Upanayana* was not performed till after the expiry of the prescribed age-limit became a *Patita Sāvithrika* that is, one who lost the right of learning the *Sāvithri* verse. This verse was regarded by the ancient *āryas* as the most potent of all the forces in the world. The loss of such a right involved many disabilities, "No one," it is laid down "should initiate such a man, nor teach them, nor perform sacrifice for them, nor have intercourse with them". (*San. Gr.* 11. 1. 10—12). And a person whose ancestors through three generations had been *Patita Sāvitrikas* were denied the *Upanayana* ceremony and with it the right to study the *Vēda* (*Parāśara* V. 40. et. seq), To these, *Gōbhila Grihy-sūtra* adds the disability of entering into matrimonial relation with other members of the community (*Gōbhila Grihayasūtra* II. 10—6). Some provision is, however, made for the initiation of such a person after certain expiatory ceremonies.

The ceremony of *Upanayanam* has been elaborately described in some of the *Sūtras*. The following appear to be the important features of this ceremony: The investment of the sacrificial cord, and of the girdle the staff, and the garment, invocation to *Agni* and other deities by the pupil, the reciting of the *Sāvithri* verse by the *guru* to his pupil, the handing over of the custody of the pupil by his parent to his teacher, the begging for alms by the pupil of his mother and other women of neighbourhood who will not refuse alms, and the treading on the stone by the pupil during the ceremony. The *Sāvithri* verse was recited to the puple first, *pāda* by *pāda*, then, hemistich by hemistich, and, lastly, the whole verse with "*Ōm*" preceding the recitation:

Bhūh! *Tat Savithrur Varēnyam*, = Thou Adorable Splendour !
Bhuvah! *Bhargō-dēvasya-dhīmahi* = Of the divine Sāvitri may we obtain.
Suvah Dhīyō Yō nah Prachōdayāt = "Who should rouse our prayer

Then, *Bhūr-Bhuvas ! Tat Savitri Varēnyaṁ Bhargō-dēvasya-dhīmahi. Suvah Dhiyō yō nah Prachōdayāt*

and lastly *Bhūr-bhuvas-suvah* ! *Tat Savitṛu-varēnyam Bhargō-dēvasya dhīmahi* ; *dhīyō yō naḥ prachōdayāt* (*Hiraṇya Kēśi-Grihyasūtra* 1-2-6 verse 11.)

I shall quote only a few of the hymns significant of the nature of the ceremony and its importance. The student says "I came hither to be a student, Initiate me ! I will be a student, impelled by the God *Sāvitri* " (*Hiranya* I—2-5-2) and the *Guru* accepts him saying " By the impulse of the God *Sāvitri*, with the arms of the two *Aśvins*, with *Pushans* hands, I initiate thee! " (*Hirṇaya* I—2-5-8.) The *Guru* says to his pupil, " Thy heart shall dwell in my heart : my mind thou shalt follow with thy mind ; in my word thou shall rejoice with all thy heart ; may *Brihaspati* join thee to me ! (*Hirnaya* I 2-5-11) touching the place of the heart of the student. Again the teacher says to the pupil, "Tread on this stone ; like a stone be firm. Destroy those who seek to do thee harm : overcome thy enemies, " and , "thou hast put on the garment for the sake of welfare ; thou hast become a protector of thy friends against imprication. Live a hundred long years : a noble man, blessed with life, mayst thou distribute wealth" (*Hirṇaya* I-I-4 verses 1 & 3.)

The ceremony over, the pupil keeps fast for three days during which period he does not eat saline or pungent food. But after the expiry of this period, he is released from the vow and the restriction as to food is removed in the course of his residence with the teacher. But the dress of the student during the whole period of his student-ship remained the same that is, the kind of garment, the staff, and the girdle with which he was invested at the *Upanayana*. He should have no intercourse with womeu. He should beg for his food daily of persons who will not refuse and announce his food to his teacher on his return from begging.

THE VRATAS. The student has to observe certain '*Vratas*' (rituals) during his studentship. They were the following: The *Sāvitrī vrata*, which was a preparation for learning the *Sāvitrī*, lasting for a year or three days. The Brāhmaṇa was sometimes taught the *Sāvitri* almost immediately without any lapse of time. *Sukriya vrata* was another. These was intended to enable the student to study the main portion of the *Vēda*. *Sākvara Vratika Aupānishada* and were still other kinds of *vratas*, each of which lasted one year and was observed in the different periods of the study of the *Āraṇyakas*. Gōbhila mentions *Jyēshṭa Samika vrata* as a preparation for the study of *Ajyadōhas*.

THE STUDY OF THE VEDA. Education in the early stages of the first epoch meant the study of the *Vēda*. But that was enlarged in later years so as to include the study of many other subjects based upon the Vedas, as for instance, the *Brāhmaṇās*, with the *Āraṇyakās*, the *Upanishads*, and the *Sūtras*. Still later, the Epics comprising *itihāsa Purāna* and *kāvya*, dramatic poetry, Lyrical poetry, and ethico-Dramatic poetry, History and Geography, science and Art which included the Science of language, Grammar, Lexicography, Metric, Poetics and Rhetoric, Philosophy which included Logic, also Astronomy, Geometry, Arithmetic, Algebra, and Trigonometry, Medical science, the art of War, Music, Formative and Technical Arts and works on Law, Custom, and religious worship. (*History of Education in Ancient India* by Mazumdar, pp. 101-2). It is therefore clear that the Education of the Hindus in the ancient period was progressive. It is interesting to find that the Curriculum mentioned above is found totally more or less with what is found in *Chāndōgyōpanishad*. Nārada approached Sanatkumāra and asked him to teach him; whereupon the latter asked him to state what he knew already, to which Nārada replied as follows. " I know the *Rigvēda*, Sir, the *Yajurvēda*, the *Sāmavēda*, and the *Atharvavēda*, as the fifth Itihāsa, *Purāṇa (Bhārata)* the *vēda* of Vedas, grammar, the *Pitriya* (rules for the sacrifices for the ancestors), *Rāsī* (Science of Numbers), the *Daiva* (science of portents) the *Nidhi* (science of time), the *Vākōvākya* (logic), the *Ēkāyana* (Ethics), the *Dēvavidya* (Etymology), the *Brahmavidya* (pronunciation (?)) *Śikshā* ceremonial, *Kalpā*, Prosody (*Chandas*), the *Bhūtavidya* (science of demons) *Nakṣatravidya* (Astronomy), *Sarpa* and *Dēvajñāṇavidya* (science of serpents, poisons, and of genii) such as the making of perfumes, dancing, singing, playing and other fine arts). All this I know Sir !" (quoted in Keay's *Ancient Indian Education* I pp 23-4).

PERIOD OF STUDY : The period of study prescribed for the study of each *vēda* was twelve years so that it took forty-eight years for a complete study of all the Vedas. But this was not an invariable practice. Many of the students were content with the study of one *vēda*. Instances of students who devoted all the forty-eighty years were rare and they happened mostly to be those who passed on to the *Sanyāsa Āśrama* direct from the *Āśrama* of *Brahmacharya* to sepend their life in teaching, meditation and prayer. The *Kshatriyas* and *Vysyas* had their special education fixed for them, as for instance, archery, military science, and the art of government for the *Kshtriyas* and commercial education, for the *Vysyas*. which enabled them to carry on their calling successfully. Thus it came about that the *Brāhmaṇas* alone who had no such special calling, were made to devote their student-hood for the the learning of the

Vedas and connected subjects. It should not be inferred however that the other two castes did not altogether avail themselves of the opportunity of studying the *Vedas*. Only the number of *Kshatriya* and *Vysya* students in the Vedic Schools was comparitively less than that of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Even as regards the *Brāhmaṇas*, the period of 48 years did not long remain unreduced. In modern times the Vedic study has been reduced to a period of 8 years, and it is probable that this custom has been in existence for a very long time. Prof. Max Muller states in his (*India, What can it teach us?* pp. 209—10), thus, on the subject on the basis of information supplied to him (*Vedic scholar in India.*) "The student had to learn 10 books. First the hymns of the *Rigvēda*, then a prose treatise on sacrifices called the *Brāhmaṇas* then the so-called *Āraṇyakas*. Lastly, six treatises on *Pronunciation*, grammar, etymology, metere, astronomy, and ceremmonial, each line reckoned as 32 syllables. A pupil studied every day during the 8 years of his theological apprentice-ship except on holidays which are called (*anādhyayana*) non-reading days. There being 360 days in a lunar year, the 8 years would give him 2880 days. Deducting from them 384 days, we get 2496 working days during the whole period. Dividing the number of lines, that is, 30,000 by the number of working days, we get about 12 lines to be learnt each day, though much time is taken up in addition, for practising and rehearsing what has been learnt before"

METHOD OF INSTRUCTION. The method of instruction in Ancient India was entirely oral. Even after writing came into use in India, about 800 B.C, it was taken advantage of by the trading and agricultural classes only. It took centuries before *Vedas* came to be reduced to manuscript, which is beleved to be not earlier than 1500 A.D. But all the while, the study of the Vedas was conducted orally. The *Prātiśākhyas* composed about 500 B.C., attached to each Veda fresh rules for the study of the Vedas. According to the *Prātiśākhya* of the *Rigvēdā*, the pupil had to embrace the feet of the teacher both at the beginning and end of the study for the day. The teacher pronounced the different parts of the question with the pupil repeated but which were explained wherever necessary. After the explanation the pupil once again repeated the question which he knew learning it by heart, having pronounced every syllable with high accent. Further, Vāchaspati Misra's methods of *adhyayana* (hearing of words) *Śabda*, apprehension of meaning. *Ūha* reasoning, leading to generalisation.

THE ANNUAL COURSE OF STUDY: The study was commenced at a particular season of the year and continued only for a specified period. The annual course of study was called *Adhyōpakarana*, for this Āśvalāyana prescribes six months, while other *sūtra* writers prescribe periods of either

5½ or 6½ months. The study began in the month of *Śrāvaṇa* on any day in the bright fortnight, or on the day of the full-moon. During this period of study, the student satiated the *Āchāryas*, the *Ṛishis*, and the ancestors. The annual course of study was commenced with a ceremony called *Upākarma* and terminated with *Utsarga*. Parāśara (III-16-1) mentions the prayer offered by the student to prevent his forgetting the the lesson of the *Vēda* when once it has been acquired, in the following terms. "May my mouth be skilful. My tongue be honey-sweet speech. With my ears I have heard much. Do not take away that which I have heard which dwells in me". Again, "May my limbs grow strong ; my voice, breath, eye, ear, honour, and power. What I have heard and studied, may that be fixed in my mind etc."

This period of study ranging from 5½ to 6½ months for the year was not however one continuous period of study. *Vēda* was not studied on the full-moon, or new-moon days, as also no other days considered as holidays. There were also various restrictions in regard to the study, for instance, when earthquakes or other phenomena occured or when dogs barked.

THE MODE OF LEARNING BY HEART. Much has been written about the system of oral transmission of Vedic lore by the *guru* to his pupil. This peculiarity of the Hindu mode of learning has elicited the admiration of many foreigners who visited India from earliest times. Itsing who stayed in India from 673 to 693 A.D. had many opportunities of of observing at close quarters this method of learning while he studied in the famous University of Nālanda. He instances the case of some Brāhmans who could recite all the Vedas containing as many as 1000,000 verses with absolute correctness. (see Max Muller, *India, What can it teach us?*" Page 213). Such marvellous feats of memory were responsible for the exactness in prounciation, meaning, etc. of the Vedas which were only reduced to writing nearly 3,000 years after the date of their original composition. Alberūni, who wrote his '*Indika*' in 1030 A.D.' writes thus of how the *Vēda* was recited in his day. The *vēda* is reciited in three different ways *Krama. Ghana* and *Jaṭa*. First is a uniform manner of reading just as every other book is read. Second is such a way that a pause is made after every single word. Third is a method which is the most meritorions and for which plenty of reward in Heaven is promised. First the passage is read, each word of which is distinctly pronounced. Then it is repeated together with a part of that which has not been yet recited. Next the added portion alone is recited ; then it is repeated together with a part of that which has not yet been recited. If this method is continued, the whole text is recited twice." (Alberūni

Vol. I. Translation by Dr. E. C. Sachan Ed. 1888 p. 128). Alberūni had probably in his mind the four methods adopted for the preservation of the sacred texts, namely, the *pāda* arrangement, the *Jaṭa* arrangement, the *Krāma* arrangement, and the *Ghana* arrangement.

Now there remains only the last two stages of a student's career in times of old, the *Sāmāvartana* and this *Snātaka*. These need not occupy us long and can be dismissed with a brief notice. *Samāvartana* was the name given to the ceremony which a student had to perform to mark the close of his student-ship. The taking of a bath was the most significant part of the cermony. The *Sūtras* prescribe the rituals that had to be observed for this performance after which he abandoned his girdle, staff, and garment. The payment of a fee to the *Guru* usually that of a cow is prescribed. The *Guru* was also entitled to all that belonged to the student during his residence at his house. The *Samāvartana* ceremony over, the young man became a *Snātaka* and returned home. The mode of his arrival at home and of his reception there, is also described in the *Sūtras* which however need not detain us. During the period that he remained a '*Snātaka*' he had to lead a perfectly moral life and many are the restrictions imposed upon him. Inter course with, or dalliance with women was prohibited, Daily salutation to this teacher, *Gurus*, *Śrōtriyas*, Abstention from slanderous talk, are among some of the injunctions imposed upon him by Sāmkhyāna. (*Sāṁkhyāna*: IV. 11-12.)

Āśvalāyana mentions that a student might get himself released from his teacher if he pronounced the name of his teacher and said "Here will we dwell, Sir!"

It is interesting to note here that though in modern times the *Brahmacharya* rules are not followed in the way mentioned in the sacred texts, young man of the twice born castes is made to go through the various stages of his studentship in the course of the ceremonies of *Upanayanam* and marriage.

(To be Continued.)

RAYAVACHAKAMU AND OTHER TELUGU SOURCES FOR KRISHNARAYA'S REIGN.

K. RAGHAVACHARYULU, M. A., B. L.

The ascendancy of the kingdom of Vijayanagar stands pre-eminent in Medieval South Indian History, and the reign of Krishṇarāya (A. D. 1509—1530 *Circa*) was unique in the attainment of political supermacy as well as social well-being. The Portuguese Chroniclers, Nuniz and Paes, have recorded the contemporary events of his reign, and the inscriptions throughout Southern India speak of his victories and other achivements. The vernacular sources for the history of his reign are not wanting, and Krishṇaswami Aiyengar's refers to the Tamil book, *Kongudēśa-Rājakkal*, in his brief survey of Krishṇarāya's reign. The age of Krishṇarāya was the Augustan period of Telugu Literature and poets like Peddana and Timmana dedicated their works to him. The dedicatory verses at the beginning and end of the Telugu *prabandhas* like *Manucharitra* and *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* supply us with information as regards the stray incidents of his time. Krishṇarāya's own book *Āmuktamālyada* would help us to some extent in our search. A book called *Krishṇarāyavijayamu* of the younger Dhūrjaṭi describes the events of his reign to the end of the war with the Gajapati, and it was written shortly after the reign of Krishṇarāya.

A Chronicle of the events of the reign of Krishṇarāya written by a contemporary writer has been brought to light by the Telugu Academy (*Āndhra* (*Sāhitya parishat*) and published in Volume (?) of its Journal. The book is known as *Rāyavāchakamu* and its Mss. were acquired in Pudukōṭa, in Tanjore District. The books claims to have been written by the *Sthānādhipati* (Ambassador or Agent) of Viśvanātha Nāik, king of Madura and describes the events of Krishṇarāya's reign to the end of the war with the Gajapati and his victory over the Gajapati of Orissa. It is now proposed to deal with the material placed before us in this Chronicale and point out the deviations from the Chronicles of Paes and Nuniz, and other outstanding features which require reconsideration in the light of that material.

1. The Book opens with the last years of Vīra Narasiṁharāya's reign and describes the daily routine of the Vijayanagar kings. Incidentally the origin of the city of Vijayanagar is narrated in detail. It is described how the sage Vidyāraṇya was directed by his Guru Jñanēndra Sarasvati to go on a pilgramage to Benares, how he met Śrīgiri Bhaṭṭa,

a learned and pious brahmin on the banks of the Varāha river, how the latter directed Vidyāraṇya to meet Vēda Vyāsa in Benares and how Vēda Vyāsa directed Vidyāraṇya to construct a capital city in the Karṇāṭa country. The book gives us further a detailed account of the selction of the site for the city of Vijayanagar at a spot where the sage observed a hare giving chase to the hounds on the bank of the river Paṁpā, (now called Tungabhadrā). We are not concerned with the traditional account of the origin of the city but one important fact has been brought to light in this connection. The foundation for the city seems to have been laid on Thursday, 15th *(Paurṇamāsi)* day of Chaitra in the year Prabhava, corresponding to the *Śaka Samvat* 1125, (A.D. 1230). Vēda Vyāsa is said to have prophesied to Vidyāraṇya that the city would enjoy unrivalled splendour for 360 years only. This would bring us to A.D. 1563, two years before the famous Battle of Tallikōṭta (1565 A.D.) which dealt the final blow to the City of Vijayanagara. Historians describe how after the battle of Tallikōṭa, the city was deserted by its inhabitants and looted by the Mohammedan invaders. The prophecy as to the origin and continuance of the supremacy of Vijayanagar has turned out to be fatally true, and the Ruins of Haṁpi bear the traces of the Mohammedan onslaught after the battle of Tallikōṭa. Sewell's Geneology of the Vijayanagar kings begins with the brothers Harihara and Bukka, about A. D. 1334. The period of 130 years prior to A.D. 1334 is shrouded in darkness and awaits the research of the modern scholars. *Rāyavāchakamu* further tells us that 300 years had elapsed by the time of Vīra Narasiṁharāya's reign, which is also substantially correct, and points out that he was the *29th* king in succession The geneology from Harihara and Bukka gives us only a list of 16 or 18 kings and the family of 10 or 12 kings if any prior to Harihara I. should be brought to light.

2. A major portion of the book is then devoted to the description of the preparation of Krishṇarāya, prior to his campaign into the land of the Gajapatis. The political and moral rules of conduct were taught to him by his ministers and the king looked into the financial and military resources of the State. An elaborate organisation of espionage seems to have been brought him the information about the adjacent rulers, the Mohammedan powers of Gōlconḍa Bijāpur, and Ahmednagar and the Gajapati Kings of Orissa. The Gajapati dominions extended southwards even beyond the Krishṇa river and the fortresses of Udayagiri, Koṇḍavīḍu, Bellaṁkoṇḍa, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Kandūr belonged to them. In a later portion of the book it is said that the kingdom of the Gajapati extended from Purī or Jagannāth on the north to Kāḷahasti on the south. The Mohammedan power to the north of the Krishṇa and the Gajapati dominions to the east were a menace to the Vijayanagara supremacy and it was the ambition of Krishṇarāya to bring them under subjection.

Nuniz also describes that Krishṇarāya was busy with his internal administration for a period of two years before he started on his victorious campaign against Gajapati.

3. The last quarter of the Chronicle describes the military campaigns of Krishnarāya. Sāḷuva Timmarasu was left in Vijayanagar while Krishnarāya marched against the fortresses of Ummattūr and Śivasamudraṁ and defeated the Gāngarāja, of the Mysore country. Narasarāja, father of Krishṇarāya made Gāngarāja the chieftain of the principality of Penugoṇḍa (*Penugoṇḍa chekrēśvara*) and Fra Luiz refers to a rebellion in Penugoṇḍa. The Amarāvatī Inscription of Krishṇarāya (*Ep. Ind.* vol. VII p. 18) refers to the capture of Śivasamudraṁ. *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* of Timmakavi refers to the capture of Śivasamudraṁ thus:

Ummattūri Śivaṁsamudra-pura-vara prō = nmūlanā = daṁbarā!"

The Chronicler Nuniz makes no mention of Krishṇarāya's campaign against Gāngarāja. The *Koṅgudēśa-Rājakkal* goes further than the Telugu Source quoted above and states that Krishṇarāya settled the country about Kāñchīpura (Conjeevaram) before he proceeded against Gāngarāja of Ummattūr.

4. Krishṇarāya then proceeded towards the frontiers of Bijāpur and captured the fortresses of Raichur, Mudgal, Ādavani and Addanki and reached the frontiers of Gōlkoṇḍa. A battle was then fought with the three Mohammedan powers on the southern side of the river Krishna and the Mohammedans were totally defeated. Nuniz mentions only one seige i.e., of Raichur in 1520 A.D., and the earlier campaign against the same fortress was not noticed by him. Sewell accepts the statement of Nuniz as correct. *Krishṇarāyavijayamu* of Dhūrjaṭi also mentions the earlier campaign against Raichur, Mudgal and Ādōni. This took place in A.D. 1512. It may not be out of place to mention here that the last mentioned book follows closely the *Rāyavāchakamu* in all its details.

5. Passing by the way of Gutti and Kaṇḍikōṭa (Gaṇḍikōṭa), Krishṇarāya proceeded then against Udaigiri, Kandūru, Koṇḍavīḍu, Vinukoṇḍa, Bellaṁkoṇḍa and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and lastly Ahmednagar. At that time the fortress belonged to Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati of Orissa. Vīrabhadra, the son of Pratāpa Rudra was in Koṇḍavīḍu, at the time of Krishṇarāya's campaign and was captured alive. *Āmuktamālyada*, *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*, and *Manucharitra* allude to the capture of Vīrabhadra. Nuniz would have it that Krishṇarāya on his return to Vijayanagar forced him to fight with a commoner, and that the latter took it as an insult and stabbed himself. This incident does not appear to be true; Krishṇarāya seems to have treated him with courtesy. (*Pārijāta*: I-21) *Rāyavāchakamu* tells us that Krishnarāya kept his chieftains, Koṇḍayya at Koṇḍavīḍu, Bhāskarayya in Vinukoṇḍa, Vīrabhadrayya at Bellaṁkoṇḍa, and Ayyalayya in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The campaign against Ahmednagar does

not find place in any book except *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Krishnarāyavijayamu*, and we are not in a position now to assert that it really took place at this juncture. Again the Gajapati king, contemporaneous with Krishṇarāya is said to be Mukunda Gajapati, while the inscriptions and other authorities refer to Pratāparudra. A predecessor of Pratāparudra was Mukunda Gajapati and this might have led to the error committed by the authors of the *Rāyavāchakamu* and the *Krishṇarāyavijayamu*.

Krishṇarāya then defeated Chitaph Khan (Sitaph Khan) in the Ghats and proceeded to Poṭnūru and of Simhāchalam. The erection of a Pillar of Victory in Poṭnūru and the inscriptions of Simhāchalam, place these facts beyond doubt. The Book then goes on to describe how the sixteen *Pātruḍus* (Chieftains) were separated from Gajapati by a clever strategem of Appāji (Sāḷuva Timmarusu) and how the Gajapati fled into the interior of his country. *Manucharitra* describes that Krishṇarāya subjugated Māḍugula and Vaḍḍādi and marched on Cuttuck (Kaṭaka.) *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* refers to the victory of Krishṇārāya over the king of Orissa (Utkal) but says that the Gajapati entertained a fear that Krishṇarāya would capture Cuttack. (*Pārijāta*: I-23) Krishnaswami Aiyengar calls it a poetic flight of Timmana and asserts that Krishṇarāya never proceeded beyond Simhāchalam. K. V. Lakshmaṇa Rao thinks that he might have gone to Poṭnūru from Māḍugula and Vaḍḍādi and returned to Simhāchalam. But it is true that a treaty was entered into with Krishṇarāya by Pratāparudra Gajapati, by which the latter gave his daughter Jaganmōhini in marriage to Krishṇarāya, while the Emperor of Vijayanagar agreed to fix the river Krishṇa as the northern boundary of his dominions.

Krishṇarāya then returned to Tirupati, and on his way subjugated the fortress of Kalyāṇa-Kalubarige. He endowed his tutelary God Śrī Vēnkaṭēśvara on the Tirupati Hill, with a large sum of money and jewels and erected copper images of himself and his two queens Tirumala Dēvī and Chinnādēvī. From Tirupati he continued his march to Kāḷahasti on pilgrimage, and thence to the several places of pilgrimage in the farther south. The visit to Kāḷahasti is said to have taken place in the year *Śrīmukha*. This date is obviously incorrect. On his return to Vijayanagar he directed his court-poets Timmana and Peddana to compose their beautiful *prabandhas*, *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* and *Manuchritramu*, The southern tour on pilgrimage was not noticed by either Paes or Nuniz.

In connection with his campaign against Gāngarāja of Ummattūr *Rāyavāchakamu* further informs us that Krishṇarāya went to Śrīrangapaṭṭanam and inspected the troops there. He then reached Ikkēri Araṇyam (?) of Sukkula Nāyaka and having inspected the fortress and the troops, he proceeded to the frontiers of Bijāpūr as above mentioned. It is not clear as to what town was meant by Ikkēri,

Again while describing the seige of Udaigiri, the Book states thus: "గుత్తి కొండవీటిమార్గముగా ఉదయగిరికి వచ్చిన హుర్మత్తు అనె దుర్గముపై లగ్గయెక్కగా, దుర్గములో నివారు". *Krishnarāyavijayamu* of Dhūrjaṭi does not refer to the above fact, but while describing the seige of Ummattūr, the following words were used: అనంతరం బోక్క్రా హురుమత్తున సమ్మత్తూరు శివసముద్ర స్థలంబుల నెసంగు" etc. This reading shown above in *Rāyavāchakamu* is evidently wrong. It ought to be ఉదయగిరికివచ్చి హుర్మత్తున దుర్గములపై లగ్గ యెక్కగా" *Hurmattu* is a Telugu word meaning 'greatness' or 'grandeur.' The scribe of the Tamil Country who was ignorant of Telugu language or that particular word might have taken *Hurmattu* to refer to a fortress and written has "హుర్మత్తు అనే దుర్గము" 'a fort called Hurmattu.' The word does not refer to a fortrees as has been supposed by Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar, who also falls into the same error, like the scribe of the Tamil country.

As regards the queens of Krishṇarāya, both the *Manucharitram* and the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* mention only two of them Tirumaladēvī and Chinnādēvī. *Rāyavāchakamu* refers to the copper images of these queens in Tirupati and also mentions Krishṇarāya's marriage with Jaganmōhinī, the daughter of Mukunda Gajapati. *Krishṇarāyavijayamu* calls her Tukka, and *Āmuktamālyada* mentions three queens Tirumaladēvī, Annapūrṇādēvī and Kamalādēvī. Annapūrṇādēvī might have been called Chinnādēvī being the younger of the two, while the Gajapati's daughter might have been known by one of the three names Jaganmōhini, Kamalādēvī or Tukkā. Lakshmaṇa Rao, however, thinks that the name of the Gajapati's daughter was Annapūrṇā. Readers are familiar with the traditional episode of Tukkā's life, how she plotted against Krishṇarāya having supected his *Kshatriya* birth, how the king was saved by his minister Timmarusu, and how having been abandoned by her husband she lived for sometime at a place called Kaṁbhaṁ. Tradition further tells us that she was reconciled to Krishṇarāya some years later. The five extant verses in Sanskrit called *Tukkā pañchakaṁ* are attributed to her. We are not in a position to assert or deny this traditional episode in Krishṇarāya's life.

The *Prabandhas* give us some minor details about Krishnarāya. His palace was known as *Malayakūta*. (*Pārijāta*: II-1) His royal seat was known as *Bhuvana vijayaṁ* (the Conqueror of the World). (*Pārijāta*: II-111 & Manu: I-13) Krishṇarāya seems to have weighed himself in pearls and distributed them to the poor. (*Pārijāta* V-113) The King's Balance in the Ruins of Hampi speak to this ("మౌక్తిక తులాభార ప్రక్రియా") He is said to have also held a festival every year in his capital city called *Vasantōtsava*. (*Pārijāta*: I-139) The Portuguese Chroniclers describe the festivals that were celebrated every year in the

capital, the *Maharnavamī* and the New Year's Day (*vasantōtsāva*).

The colophons of *Āmuktamālyada* refer us to some places which Krishṇarāya seems to have conquered, " బహుళశాళశాళి భరిత కల్బురిగ నగర, సగర పురవర పరిబృఢ యవనయూధ, స్ఫుటన (Canto I. v. 41.) The Mohammedans are said to have been defeated both in Kalubarige and Sagar. The latter place has not been referred to elsewhere. Again the capture of the fort of Kembāvi is referred to thus:" ......యవనాస్వకృష్ణ కెంబావి..." (*Āmukta* V. 160.) Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyengar thinks that Kembāvi was a place near Raichur and that the allusion was to the first seige of Raichur. According to that learned historian the first battle of Raichur was fought near the village of Kembāvi. Another expression is " ...నైరావన యామునావు నిధనా" (*Āmukta* VI. 69). It is not clear whether the word *Nairāvana* refers to a Sultan or to a town.

Verse 42 of Canto I, of *Āmuktamalyada* refers to the death of the Sultan of Bijāpūr, (Adil Khān). Adil Shah in a battle fought with Krishṇarāya. During the reign of Krishṇarāya there were two Adil Shahs of Bijāpūr. Yusuf Adil Khan the founder of the kingdom of Bijāpūr died in A. D. 1510, and Ismail, his son in A. D. 1534. Yusuf Adil Shah recovered Goa from the Portuguese in the year of his death and Krishṇarāya does not seem to have taken any active part in that campaign. Ismail Adil Shah was barely twelve years old when the three Mohammedan powers were defeated on the southern bank of the Krishṇa on the eve of Krishṇarāya's victorious campaign against the Gajapati. It is not clear whether a Regent or commander of Ismail Adil Shah was referred to in the verse 42. Canto I, of the *Āmuktamālayada*.

Manucharitra (Canto iii, v. 142) refers to Krishṇarāya as "*yavanarājya sthāpanā*" and *Yavana Kshōṇidhava Sthāpanā* (Restorer or establisher of the kingdom of the Yavana, i.e., a Mohammedan prince). Some of the inscriptions of the king mention the same title. (*Ongole* 71 : *Nellore Inscriptions* of 1517—18) K. V. Lakshmana Rao also thinks that the title refers to the incident of Krishṇarāya's enthroning a Bahamani prince on the throne at Kalubarige (Gulbaraga). This was after of the second battle of Rāichur in A. D. 1520—21. *Manucharitra* was composed shortly after the campaign agninst the Gajapati sometime after 1516. A,D. It is not clear whether the title referred to above had anything with Krishṇarāya's protection of the Portuguese from the Mohammedan invasions in the early years of his reign. We find thus that the vernacular sources of Krishnaraya's reign are very important in constructing the history of the reign of the period. The *Rāyavāchakamu* gives also references to a number of Krishṇarāya's descendants .and contemporaries, This subject will be dealt with in a separate peper,

EVOLUTION OF THE BRAHMANICAL HEIRARCHY IN ANCIENT INDIA.

S. BHIMASANKARA RAO, B.A.

(Continued from page 96 above.)

Mahāvīra also founded the Jain *Sangha* or *Nigranthas* which was said to have expounded by the early sages who were known as *Tīrthankaras*. Mahāvīra died in B. C. 467, and at his death the *sangha* numbered 500 thousand members. Buddha was born in B. C. 563. Both Buddha and Mahāvīra were eontemporaries for a long time and both of them preached and propounded their respective religions in Magadha and Kōsala, the two prominent central provinces, of Northern India. Both the religions, Buddhism and Jainism raised the standard of revolt against the orthodox Vedic Brahminism and both of them gained a good many followers, so much so that Buddhism was able to supplant Brāhminism to a very great extent and became a state religion two centuries after Buddha's death during Aśōka's time. At that time when Buddha began to preach his now doctrine the Śaiśunāga dynasty, the first and ancient Aryan dynasty having a historical reality was holding Imperial sovereignity of Magadha empire and Bimbisāra, the founder of Magadha Imperial power was reigning and Buddha died during the reign of his son Ajātaśatru, the parricide king. It would appear that prior to Buddha, there were previous Buddhas who preached his doctrines and prominent among them was one Kanakamuni to whose memory a stupa was erected and which was twice repaired by Aśōka. The Buddhistic choronicles, the *Piṭakas*, the Jain cannonical books and Brahmin, Kshatriya Purāṇas, all combine to tell us the history of Magadha, Anga, Kōsala, Kāśī and Vaiāśli, and not of other countries during the 6th century B. C. The Śiśunāga dynasty came to an end in B. C. 372, and the Nanda dynasty eame into power by usurpation of the throne Mahā Padma Nanda by a son born of a low caste *Śūdra* woman. The Nandas were followers of Jainism and evidently there was a set back to Brahminism and the Puraṇas say the accession of a *Śūdra* marked the end of the reigns of high born *kshatriyas*. The Nanda sovereignity came to an end in B.C, 321 by the deposition of the last Nanda king by Chandragupta Maurya whose mother was said to be the daughter of the keeper of king's peacocks *(Mayura pōṣaka)* hence the dynasty was known in history as Mauryan dynasty. This Chandragupta Maurya was exiled from his native place Pāṭalīputra as he was concerned in a conspiracy against the king and he was living at the Aryan University town of Takṣa-Śilā or Taxila in Punjab. Aided by

the Brahmin Chāṇakya, the Aryan clans were roused after the death of Alexander, by Chandrogupta and the Macedonian garrisons were defeated and driven away from the Punjab. Guided by his Brahmin adviser Chandragupta Maurya soon followed up his conquests, overthrew the Magadha king and became a paramount sovereign of the whole of Northern India from sea to sea. All the petty principalities of *Āryāvarta* were brought under his subjection and were made to acknowledge the suzerainty of the strong central Government. Chāṇakya's *Artha Śāstra* does not disclose any highly preferential treatment accorded to the Brahmin but he was exempt only from capital punishment and in other respects he was regarded as equal to others. When we come to the reign of Aśōkavardhana, the grandson of Chandragupta we find that the royal monarch openly embracing Buddhism being converted to it by the Buddhistic saint Upāgupta, and he raised Buddhism into a state religion. The numerous pillar inscriptions, rock edicts and other monuments attest the endeavours of that monarch to spread Buddhism far and wide he sent Buddhistic monks to distant countries on proseletysing missions. The law of *Dharma* and the sanctity of all animal life was widely preached and there were appointed public overseers for the purpose enforcing all the ethical principles of the code which was promulgated in B. C. 243. Aśōka adopted the policy of universal toleration and did not persecute other relegions. The laws of piety, charity and reverence were strictly endorced and a special agency of censors was organised for the purpose of enforcing the regulations concerning the sanctity of the animal life. The last king of the Mauryan dynasty, Bṛhadratha was slain by his commander-in-chief Pushyamitra of the Sunga dynasty and ascened the throne in B. C. 185. This Pushyamitra was the son of a Brahmin priest and his reign was the begining of Brahminical reaction.

The fall of Mauryan dynasty probably was due in a large measure to a reaction promoted by the Brahmins whose privileged position must have been very seriously affected by the extreme favour which Aśōkavardhana showed to the Buddhistic monks. The prohibition of bloody sacrifices and the irritating proceedings of the public overseers and censors organised under the Asokan regime must have produced a great deal of discontent in the public mind and was resented greatly as it interfered with personal freedom. When the strong hand of the old emperor Aśōka dropped the sceptre the Brahmin influence re-asserted itself. during the reigns of his weak successors and produced a revolt against the inquisitorial tyranny of Aśōka's system. The exaggerated regard for the sanctity of animal life which was one of the most cherished features of Buddhism and the dominant motive for Asokavardhana's characteristic legislation had necessarily involved the prohibition of bloody sacrifices which are essential for certain forms of Brahminical worship and were

believed by the orthodox to possess the greatest religious efficacy. Puṣyamitra after repelling the double invasion of Magadha by Minander the Bactrian king and by the Kalinga king, performed the great *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice which marked the early stage of Brahminical reaction. *Aśvamēdha* was one of the ancient Aryan Vedic sacrifices enjoined to be performed by the kings for the welfare of the state and as a symbol of universal dominion This sacrifice was attended by thousands of Brahmin priests who performed appropriate ceremonies on a grand scale and were rewarded very lavishly with *dakhṣiṇa*. The celebration of this great national sacrifice was regarded as a definite reaction towards Brahminism and the beginning of the downfall ot Buddhism. Puṣyamitra's performance of the great *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice claiming the paramount power in Northern India, was referred to in the famous play, Kālidāsa's *Malavikāgnimitra* and the historical traditions of the times have been well preserved in the letter of invitation sent by Puṣyamitra to his son, the crown prince Agnimitra referred to in the sixth act of the play. The performance of this grand *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice must have been withnessed also by the great Sanskrit Grammarian Patañjali who lived in Puṣyamitra's reign for he referred to the event in his *Mahābhāṣya*, This indicates a revial of Brahmin Sanskrit scholarship. Puṣyamitra is represented as being a relentless persecutor of the Buddhists, who burned monasteries and killed the monks. Many Buddhistic writers have written about the persecution of Buddhists by him and they cannot be rejected as entirely false though they may be very much exaggerated. Buddhistic chronicles no doubt allege that he burnt monasteries and killed many monks, and from that, it cannot be said that he was against Buddhism as a religion but against the Buddhistic *sangha* a political power which had to be suppressed by violent means for the purpose safeguarding the interests of the state. Certainly it would be a flagrant outrage upon the Indo-Aryan sense of royal justice for a king to attempt to convert people from one religion to another by persecution, and Puṣyamitra, who could not have overthrown the Mauryan dynasty for neglect of duties of Aryan Kingship except with the support of the people would not be so impolitic as to start persecution of a powerful religious community, and if there is any truth in the Buddhistic tradition, we may reasonably infer that he had severly dealt with all political offences committed by the members of Buddhist *sangha* who were concerned in the conspiracies against the Sangha dynasty. If Buddhism had declained, it was not on account of its persecution at the hands of Brahmin kings but an account of its natural decay owing to several other causes, and this seems to be more or less the accepted view of many scholars. Various explanations have been given for the decline of Buddhism and for the revival of Brahminism. But by far the most important reason for the decline of Buddhism is the

adaptability of the Aryan Brahmin intellectuality to the new and changed environment. If the Brahmin representatives of the Aryan intellectuality took a leading part in making Buddhism a state religion, Buddhistic philosophy and ethics was equally powerful in exercising its influence over Brahminical thought. In pre-Buddhistic times, Brahmin influence was won by sheer force of intellect and character which could not have failed to adopt itself to the changed conditions. Vedic Brahminism was cleard of its intellectual cobwebs by the scientific broom which Buddhistic logic applied to it.

Buddhistic phiosophy recognises no arguments which could not be referred to the inexorable law of cause and effect implied in its interpretation of *Dharma*. When the Brahmins found that the sanctity of Vedic traditions no longer sufficed to gain acceptance for their theories, they fortified their position by their theories, applying the same logical system to the interpretation of the Vedas and by a searching investigation into the foundations by their beliefs, Thus the intellectual stimulus given by Buddhistic teaching was the indirect cause of the rising influence of Brahminism in the 2nd century B. C. Neither Brahminism nor Buddhism in Puṣyamitra's time in B. C. 185 was the same as that at the time of Aśōka in B. C. 268 Both had undergone a good deal of transformation and were divided into different schools of thought and divergent sects, and a process of assimilation and adoption of popular religious notions went on for centuries. *Yōga*, the fundamental doctrine of Indo Aryan faith systematized by the great Grammarain Patañjali was accepted by the Buddhists as a psychological exercise, leading to true spiritual insight, though they rejected the Vedic implication of the Universal Spirit as God and first cause. The doctrine of incarnation, the cardinal dogma of Aryan religion was introduced into the Buddhistic *Jātakas* which led to the creation of a large number Bōdhisattvas whose worship was carried with great rituals. All the religious cults and the different philosophical schools are agreed with regard to the position of one supreme God, and a three-fold aspect of this Supreme One first took its shape from the theory which had its ritual symbolism in *Sandhya* consisting of the worship of sun, in morning, noon and evenning and gradually it extended to three paths, paths of service, knowledge and devotion i.e., *Karma*, *Jñāna* and *Bhakti margas* which was adopted by Buddhists also who elaborated a religious ritual and philosophy taking as their trinity *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sangha*. Gradually when Buddha came to be worshipped as the creator though, during his life he never claimed any divinity in himself, *Dharma* became the law of the cosmos and *Sangha*, the community represented the life of the universe. It as an easy transition therefore, to clothe the Buddha with the Brahminical attributes of Śiva and Viṣṇu, and gradually the whole system of Buddha's

philosophy was submerged in the flood of Brahminical symbolism and the Brahmin members of the Buddhistic *sangha* started the *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism and compiled a revised version of *Dharma* in which orthodox Brahminical beliefs of *Yōga* and re-incarnation were incorporated and this Mahāyānist propaganda—specially indentified itself with the Brahminical *bhakti mārga*,-which is the only way of obtaining *Nirvāṇa* by the pasionate devotion of self to the Buddhistic ideal by making pious gits and doing good things.

The recognised exponent of this *Mahāyāna* doctrine was the great Brahmin monk Nāgārjuna, the Luther of Buddhism and the apostle of *Bhakti mārga*, In the meantime the Brahmins were not less skilful and clever to readily admit the Buddha into their Vedic pantheon and proclaim him as one of *avatārs* or incarnations of Viṣṇu in view of the popular feeling manifested towards him. Buddhistic ethics and philosophy was adopted wholesale and the sanctity of animal life except at sacrifices was observed. There is another potent cause which worked on the popular mind to bring about a callapse of Buddhism. The *sangha* organisation, like all other religious organisations endowed and patronised by the state, tended to create vested interests and monopolies and it was found that the Buddhistic tyranny under the *sangha* was far greater than Brahminical tyranny, and Buddhist monks were equally clever adepts in fostering popular superstitions for their personal benefit than the Brahmin priests of the Vedic sacrifices. The Buddhistic monks developed then the cult of relic-worship and elaborated as great a ritual as that of Vedic sacrifices, and the popular belief and human credulity in the miraculous were exploited to promote a lavish expenditure on the building of *stūpas* and monasteries for the safe custody of an eye-lash, tooth or toe. nail or hair of the Blessed One or of the ashes of some Buddhist Saint. Thus it is no wonder that there was a reaction naturally. The Brahminical reaction which began in the 2nd century B. C. from the reign of Puṣyamitra of the Sunga dynasty was continued by some of the Kushān emperors in the 1st century A.D. Orthodox Hindu worship conducted under the guidance of Brahmins and associated with sacrificial rites which were abhorent to Cain and Buddhistic sentiment had never become completely extinct and for all times it retained a large share of popular favour, though not of royal patronage. The Kuṣan emporer Wema Khadespes II. was a zealous Saivite worshipper, and the Brahminical re action, which began in the 2nd century B.C. under Puṣyamitra had increased with great force and strength during succeeding centuries. This Wema Khadespes was a great patron of the Brahminical revival and was *hinduised* more than any other foreigner. His coins bear *Nandi* and *Śiva* on the reverse, and he styled himself as a worshipper of

Mahēṣvara. His Kuṣhān successors not only continued their respect towards the Brahminical deities but extended it also to others. But an all sided Brahmi' ical revival could only be under purely Indian princes, and such were the Gupta emprors. The development of ***Mahāyāna*** school of Buddhisim is itself a testimony to the reviving power of the Brahminical Hinduism and it was accompanied by a wide diffusion and extension of Sanskrit, the language of the Brahmin *pundit.* Whatever might be the causes, the fact is abundantly established, that the restoration of the Brahminical religion to popular favour and the associated revival of sanskrit became distinctly noticeable in the 2nd century A. D. After it was greatly fostered by the Kuṣān emprors it was made a brilliant success by the Gupta sovereigns. The reaction led by Puṣyamitra who performed the Aśvamēdha sacrifice in 2nd century · B. C., subsequently fell into disuse, till 4th century A. D. when Samudragupta revived the ancient rite and performed it with regal splendour once more; and in the 5th century A.D. his grandson Kumāragupta repeated its solemnity.

The numismatical and inscriptional evidence during the Gupta period fully establishes a vigorous Brahminical revival, innovation of Hinduism and the growth of classical Sanskrit. In Skanda Gupta's Behari and Bhetan inscriptions it is represented that the Gupta emperors performed the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice which is pointedly spoken of as having fallen into disuse for a long time past. This is the first instance of a Brahminical revival under Gupta sovereigns. Gold coins were struck with the figure of a horse let loose and the Letter of *Aśvamēdha parākarama* and *Aśvamēdha mahēndra* are found on the reverse of the coin. All the Gupta sovereigns were styled as *Parama bhāgavatas* on the coins.

(To be continued)

THE BIRHT-DATE OF SIVAJI, THE GREAT*

RAO BAHADUR R. KRISHNA RAO BHONSLE, M.R.A.S.

The Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji Saraswati Mahal Palace Library contains very many valuable manuscripts of great importance to the Student of Indian Chronology. Among these, the Manuscripts bearing on Mahratha History are particularly important as they afford clear evidences on some of the keenly debated problems of Mahratha Chronology.

Even on the birth-date of Sivaji the Great, the Tanjore Manuscripts have a distinct contribution to make. All Students of Sivaji Chronology are aware of the two dates assigned to Sivaji's birth. In their life of Sivaji Maharaj, Thakakav and Keluskar state that Monday the 10th April 1627 is the birth-day. This is accepted by one school of scholars. The other school of scholars led by Apte and Paranjape has fixed Friday the 19th February 1630 as Sivaji's birthday.

In support of the former school, the following is noteworthy. Sadaji, a Mahratha Scholar has, in his Sāhityamanjūṣa (described under No. 4242, in Vol. VII of the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Palace Library edited by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri) the following in his second verse.

यस्त्वस्येन्द्रवराधशुक्लहुतभुद्दस्रतुरङ्गाम्बुधि
संख्याब्दास्थित शालिवाहनशके षड्गोक्षपृथ्वीमिते ।
आनन्देऽपि च शुक्र शुक्लमदनाहे प्राप्य काशीस्थितात्
गागाभट्टत आप्लवं नृपपदे प्रावर्तयत्स्वं शकम् ॥

"He (Sivaji) who established his own era from the year of his coronation, which was performed by Ganga Bhatta of Benares, on the thirteenth (madanatrayodasi) day of the bright half of the Jyeṣṭa (sukra) month in the cyclic year Ananda which fell on Ṣaka 1596 (1674 A.D.) which was the fortyseventh year from the date of his (Sivaji's) birth

*This paper was presented to the Sivaji Tercentenary Conference, held at Poona, on 16th March 1930. The writer of the article represented the A. H. R. Society as well as Madras University, Tanjore Maratha Association, and the Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore before the above Conference.

which took place on the day of Fire (Tuesday or the thritiya tithi) of the bright half of the Vaisakha (radha) month.

The birthday is given as the day of Fire-hutabhugghasra; which means either Tuesday, the day dedicated to the Fire God or the third day, the word hutabhuj signifying three. Tuesday in the bright half of the Vaisakha month will be Tuesday the 10th April 1627 and the third day of the bright half in the same month will be Saturday 7th April 1627 In either case, Sivaji's birth-date cannot fall on a Monday as stated by Thakakav.

In support of the latter school, attention may be directed to the rare work, Sivabharata, by Kavindra Paramananda, a contemporary of Sivaji himself, described under No. 4225 in the same volume of the Descriptive Catalogue. This is the oldest of all the copies available in this Library. The date of birth of Sivaji is here given as Friday the 19th February 1630 A. D. which falls on the third day of the dark half of the Phalgun month in the cyclic year Sukla in Saka 1551. (Vide Siva Bharata VI Chapter, Verses 26-27). This is further corroborated by the Tamil version of the above text which is also available in this library. Tamil version should have been composed in the early decades of the last century during the reign of Serfoji II (1880-1832) and is a close translation of the Sanskrit original. It may also be pointed out that the latter date 1630 is fully supported by the Jedhe Ṣakavali and the Jodhapur Chronicle.

That Saka 1551 or 1630 A. D. should have been the more probable date of Sivaji's birth seems to be further supported by a critical examination of the Tanjore Inscriptions edited by my friend Rao Saheb T. Sambamurti Rao. On p. 15 of his book, between lines 20 and 21, there seems to be a distinct lacunae. A reference to Saka 1551 is made as the year in which Queen Jijabhai was in confiment and gave birth to a son. Again in the next line the reference to the birth of a son is made as having occured in the cyclic year Pramoduta. Evidently the Saka 1551 represents the year of Sivaji's birth in the cyclyic year Sukla while the reference to Pramoduta which falls on 1552 Saka is the year of the birth of Ekoji to Queen Tukkabhai as is supported by Sahendrarilasa.

From the above, it will be clear that there is ample material still awaiting further investigation and critical scrutiny by competent scholars interested in this absorbing problem, not only among the priceless treasures of Manuscripts in the Saraswati Mahal Library at Tanjore but also in the Inscriptions in the famous temple of Brhadiswara in Tanjore.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE AUTHOR'S VṚTTI ON THE VĀKYAPADĪA[1].

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI, M.A.

V ā k y a p a d ī y a, a well known work on the philosophy of Grammar, consisting of three chapters, *Brahmakāṇḍa*, *Vākyakāṇḍa* and *Padakāṇḍa*, is the production of B h a t ṛ h a r i. Bhartṛhari wrote another work Tripādi which is a commentary on the last three *pādas* or sections of the Aṣṭādhyāyi. S u b h ā ṣ i t a in three *śatakas*. is, also said to be his composition: but in reality it is only an anthology.

The printed text of V ā k y a p a d ī y a extends over *Brahma* and *Vākyakāṇḍas*, with seven *samuddeśas* (sections) of the third *kāṇḍa*, while two-thirds of that *kāṇḍa* remains unpublished. First *kāṇḍa* consists of *kārikas* (verses) and *vṛtti* attributed to V ṛ ṣ a b h a.[2].

The second *kāṇḍa* also consists of *kārikās* and *vṛtti* and at the end of it Puṇyarāja is stated to be the author of the *vṛtti*.[3] The commentary on the second *kāṇḍa* is easier and less technical than that of

1 The first volume of Vâkyapadiya with the discovered *vritti* of the author will be shortly published in the Dakshinabhârati Sânskrit Series at No. 7 Venkatarama Aiyer Street, G. T. Madras,

2 Harivrishabha is the name of Bhartrihari, It seems that *vrishabha* was appended to his name as he staunchly maintained the S'abda-brahma-vâda and as *vrishaba* means only Sabda-brahman. Cf, his own *vritti* on the word (I—132);

"पुरुषस्य वागात्मना प्रतिबिम्बोपग्राही नित्यस्तु सर्वव्यवहारयोनिः संहृतक्रमः सर्वेषामन्तः सन्निवेशविशी प्रभवो विकाराणां आश्रयः कर्मणां अधिष्ठानं सुखदुःखयोः सर्वत्रा प्रतिहत कारकार्यशक्तिः घटादिनिरुद्धइव प्रकाशः परिगृहीत भोगक्षेत्रावधिः सत्वमूर्तानाम परिमाणा प्रकृतिः सर्वप्रबोध रूपतया च नित्यप्रवृत्तः स्वप्रबोधानुकारी प्रवृत्ति निवृत्ति पदाभ्यां पर्जन्य इवदावाग्निवत्त प्रसवोच्छेदनशक्तियुक्तः सर्वेश्वरः सर्वशक्तिर्महां छन्दवृषभः तस्मिन् खलु वाग्योगविदो विच्छिद्याहङ्कारग्रन्थी नत्यन्ताविनिर्भागेन संसृज्यन्ते ॥"

3 शशाङ्कशिष्याच्छ्रुत्वै तद्वाक्यकाण्डं समासतः ।
पुण्यराजेन तस्योक्ता संगतिः कारिकाश्रिता ॥

The real form of his name is doubtful. In Benares Edition of Kânda II he is called Punyarâja, in the Kânda III pp. 214 & 198 he is called Phullarâja while in our own Ms. of *Helarajiya* he is called Bhullarâja. In Manjushâ he is called p. 609, Punyarâja It is doubtful whether he is the same as the commentator on Sârasvata Grammar.

the first *kāṇḍa*, and differentiation of style can be perceived by a careful reader both in the matter and expression. The third *kāṇḍa* also comprises of *kārikā* and a commentary, the latter is very elaborate and thoroughly discursive and is attributed to Helārāja, son of Bhūtirāja, probably of A.D. 980, and a native of Kāshmir. Helārāja, at the beginning of the third *kāṇḍa* says that he commented upon the first two *kāṇḍas* also यथावृत्ति[4] which may mean according to the *vṛtti* of the author, and it is supported by the fact that in his commentary on the third *kāṇḍa*, he refers to his own discussions in *vākya* and *Brahmakāṇḍas*.[5] It is inferred that he calls his commentary on each of the *kāṇḍas* by a different name as शब्दप्रभा वाक्यप्रदीप[6] and प्रकीर्णप्रकाश.

Puṇyarāja, the supposed commentator on the second *kāṇḍa* is very meagre and he calls the author *Ṭīkākāra*[7] as against *Bhāṣyakāra* and *Vārtikakāra*, (Patañjali and Vararuchi). In three places he says टीकाकारः स्ववृत्तौ meaning thereby that the author wrote a *ṭika* or commentary, and in one instance ग्रन्थकृतास्ववृत्तौ (II-78) clearly attests that the author must have written a *vṛtti* also.[8] At the end of the second *kāṇḍa*, a few verses give the contents of that

4 काण्डद्वयो यथावृत्ति सिद्धान्तार्थसतत्त्वतः ।
प्रबन्धो विहितोऽस्माभि रागमार्थानुसारतः ॥
तच्छेषभूते काण्डेऽस्मिन् सप्रपञ्चे स्वरूपतः ।
श्लोकार्थ द्योतनपरः प्रकाशोऽयं विधीयते ॥

5*a*. विस्तरेणा गमप्रामाण्यं वाक्यपदीयेऽस्माभिः प्रथमकाण्डे शब्दप्रभायां निर्णितम् (P. 39.

b. क्रमाख्याहि कालशक्तिर्ब्रह्मणेा जन्मवत्सु...नापरो द्रव्यभूतःकाल इति "अध्याहितकलां" (I-3) इत्यत्र शब्दप्रभायां निर्णितोऽयमर्थः (Page 32)

6 विशेषश्चान योर्वाक्यप्रदीपेऽस्माभि र्व्याख्यातः । p. 93.

7 टीकाकारश्चामुमेव पक्षं...युक्तियुक्तं मन्यमानःशब्दः स्फोटलक्षणाएव वाक्यमिति...पूर्वमुपक्रमते । (II—7)

b. अथ महाभाष्यस्यावतारान्वाख्यानपूर्वकं टीकाकारोमहत्तामुपवर्णयन्...आह II-484.

c. इति टीकाकारस्याभिप्रायः (III Kanda page 215)

d. उक्तं च टीकाकारैश्च तयोरैक्यं प्रतिक्वचित् (Bhâvaprakâsa, VI. 206) See the commentary thereon. (Our own edition)

8 *a*. यथाप्रदर्शितं स्ववृत्तौ टीकाकारेण । II Kanda page 106

b. ग्रन्थकृतैव स्ववृत्तौ K.II, P. 106, *c*. एषा च टीकाकृता स्ववृत्तौ K. II. P. 106.

kāṇḍa, which are attributed to Śūravarman, or to Puṇyarāja. The verse which contains the name of Śūravarman appears to contain a clerical error, probably the author meant that Puṇyarāja wrote his commentary for Śūravarman.

There is a commentary, available for the first *kāṇḍa* by Vṛṣabhadēva,[9] Both the commentator and his patron find no mention anywhere in the political or literary history. His commentary is very elaborate and seems to have been based on a number of previous commentaries on Vākyapadīya. He takes up *kārikā* or verse first and then elaborates discourse on *vṛtti* giving *pratīkas* (leading words) from it. Among these only a few *pratīkas* under each *kārikā* are found in the printed copy of the first *kāṇḍa* and many more are missing and it cannot be doubted that the printed *vṛtti* is slightly modified and much expurged from some *vṛtti* which was used as the text for Vṛṣabha's commentary, That *vṛtti* nay be supposed to be the original written by Bhartṛhari himself. for a number of quotations under Bhartṛhari are found in prose also and could not be traced fully in the printed text. Many scholars deeply feel the loss of the *vṛtti* of the author and Vṛṣabha's commentary inspite of its excellence is useless without it.

There are a number of treatises in Sanskrit in various sciences in the form of (1) *kārikā* and *vṛtti* and (2) *kārikā*, *vṛtti* and *sangraha-ślōka*. Maṇḍana's, *Brahmasiddhi*, *Bhāvanāvivēka*, *Vidhivivēka*, *Vakrōktijīvita*, *Dhvanyālōka*, and *Vyaktivivēka*, come under this form of exposition. From quotations it is inferred that Vyāḍis *sangraha* of grammar was also of this type. The commentators choose sometimes the *kārikā* or *vṛtti* only, or both for explanation. The *kārikā* and its commentary are commonly studied together; but in case the author's *vṛtti* is very elaborate and its commentary still more extensive, only the *kārikā* with its commentary is studied. Exactly this is what happened to Vākyapadīya; for, its first *kāṇḍa* is read with author's *vṛtti* simplified and condensed by elimination of certain theories and discussions noted by the author. The second *kāṇḍa* is read with Puṇyarāja's commentary which he himself calls *sangati* of the *kārikās* (i.e. linking of the *kārikās*). In the third *kāṇḍa* Helārāja himself says that he comments only the *kārikās*. Even the study of purely *kārikās* and others commentaries thereon comes to 20,000 *granthas*, which is too long for a five year course of intensive study. The commentaries of Vṛṣabha and Helā for the first two *kāṇḍas* extend over author's *vṛtti* hence they were reserved as books of mere reference.

9 यद्यपि टीका द्वयः पूर्वाचार्यैस्तु निर्मला रचिताः।

We are specially fortunate in coming across some copies of author's *vṛtti* only for the first two kāṇḍas and that it is author's is testified by the following marks.

1. *Kārikā* is not introduced by what is called the *avatārikā* as common in the treatises if others comment upon a work.
2. No *pratīkas* or leading words are given in the *vṛtti* as a regular commentator would do.
3. *Vṛtti* as we have it here, elaborates, discusses and concludes the theory set forth in the *kārikā*.
4. The characteristic terseness of Bhartṛhari's style is common to *kārikā* and *vṛtti* we have obtained.
5. Vṛṣabhadēva gives in ordor *pratīkas* from the *vṛtti* new discovered.
6. The passage quoted by Puṇyarāja as given by the author himself in his *vṛtti* is actually found in the manuscript (II—79)[10]

Thus the recovery of the author's *vṛtti* may be of immense help to trace the evolution of Indian Philosophy, Grammar and Literature. We quoto below *vṛtti* on a *kārikā* as found in our Manuscript and as in the printed text to ascertain the method of expurgation, and one instance from the second canto to show how far Puṇyarāja discharged his task,

कारिका— स्मृतयो बहुरूपाश्च दृष्टादृष्टप्रयोजना: ।

तमेवाश्रित्य लिङ्गेभ्यो वेदविद्भि: प्रकल्पिता: ॥ ८ ॥

वृत्ति—अत्र काश्चिच्छब्दनिबन्धना: स्मृतय: काश्चिदशब्दानिबन्धना विशिष्टेषु प्रासिद्ध समाचारात् । दृष्टप्रयोजनाश्चिकित्सितादिविषया: अदृष्टप्रयोजना भक्ष्याभक्ष्यगम्यागम्यवाच्यावाच्या:, तुल्ये विषये प्रसक्तिविरोधाद दृष्टप्रयोजनाभावे विकल्पिन्य:, शिष्टानां तु विप्रतिपत्तौ यत्र दृष्टप्रयोजनमास्ति तासां प्रामाण्यं, अविप्रतिपत्तौ शिष्टानां दृष्टप्रयोजन संभवेऽपि साति विकल्प एवं, तद्यथा (?) मण्डूकवधे प्रायाश्चित्तस्य । तमेवाश्रित्य लिङ्गेभ्य इतिसाति श्रुत्याश्रितानि लिङ्गानि श्रुतिविहितानां स्मृतिविहितानां च कर्मणां कर्तृसामान्य प्रवेदयन्ति । येषां हि श्रुतिविहितैर्दृष्टादृष्टप्रयोजनै: कर्माभिरधिकार: ते श्रुत्यैव स्मृतिविहितानामपि कर्मणां कर्तृत्वेनाख्यायन्ते । तद्यथा "अयं यजमानोऽतिथये आगतायाजमषण्डं महोक्षं वा पचेत्" इति । क्वाचिच्च विषये दृष्टानि लिङ्गानि स्थालीपुलाकवत् श्रुत्यर्थाविरोधिन्या: स्मृते: प्रामाण्यकल्पनायालम् ॥

[10] एतेषां च वितत्य सोपपत्तिकं सनिदर्शनं स्वरूपं पदकाण्डे लक्षणसमुद्देशे विनिर्दिष्टमिति ग्रन्थकृतैव स्ववृत्तौ प्रतिपादितम् । आगमभ्रं शाह्लेखक प्रमादादिनावा लक्षणसमुद्देशश्च पदकाण्डमध्यो न प्रसिद्ध: । Page 101, Kânda II. cf. author's वृत्ति on II, 74.

Importance of Bhartrihari's Work.

It is said that *Mahābhāṣya* was not properly understood before Bhartṛhari and his Tripādi and Vākyapadīya actually gave a new life to its study. The tradition is partly supported by the author's statement in the second *kanda* that the *Mahābhāṣya* was written on the *sangraha* of Vyāḍi, which was fast passing away as a text-book and descendents of Patañjali school neglected even *Mahābhāṣya* the copies of which are found only on leaves but not studied, somewhere near Śrī Parvata, probably in the Āndhra Country.[11] Even Vākyapadīya owing to its unusual extent and criticism of hundreds of philosophical theories as held in his days and remarkably aphoristic terseness of his language, whether in prose or in poetry, contributed to its disappearence as a text-book for the study of philosophy and grammar. But a careful study of the Indian philosophy reveals that most of the authors on Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, Vaiśēṣika, Vēdānta and Vyākaraṇa have simply worked

तत्रद्वादश षट्चत्वारिंशति र्वा लक्षणानीति लक्षण
समुद्देशे सापदेशं सविरोधं विस्तरेण व्याख्यास्यते ।

In lieu of this the printed text has दृष्ट प्रयोजनाश्चिकित्सादिविषया: । अदृष्ट प्रयोजन भक्ष्याभक्ष्यादि विषया: । तमेवाश्रित्य लिङ्गेभ्य इत्यनेन सर्वासां स्मृतिनां वेदमूलकत्वेन प्रामाण्यं दर्शितम् ॥

चिरं क्षिप्रमिति ज्ञाने कालभेदादृते यथा ।
भिन्नकाले प्रकाशेते स धर्मो ह्रस्वदीर्घयो: (III—23)

वृ—तद्यथा चिरमिति ज्ञानस्य यदात्मकत्वं क्षिप्रमित्येतस्मिंश्च ज्ञाने किंचन तयोरात्मनो: कश्चिदपि स्थिति कालभेदोऽस्ति । लब्धात्मकं हि सर्वज्ञानं अविशिष्टकालं ज्ञानान्तरेण अथ च चिरमित्यो तज्ज्ञान मतिक्रान्त प्रत्यवमर्श रूपेण तद्भावना विशेषाधानाच्च भाविनापि प्रत्यवमर्शरूपेण प्रकृष्टतामिव कालाध्वन: प्रदर्शयति । क्षिप्रमित्ये तस्मिंस्तु लघुप्रवृत्ति रूपेण प्रत्यवकृष्यत इव कालाध्वा । तथा दीर्घप्लुतादिषु यालाध्वा परिमाण भेददर्शन मविरुद्धम् ॥

11 संप्राप्य वैयाकरणान् संग्रहेऽस्तमुपागते II. 484 sloka
य: पतञ्ज लिशिष्यो भ्रष्टो व्याकरणा गम:
काले स दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रन्थमात्रे व्यवस्थित: ॥
पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभि: ।
स नीतो बहुशाखत्वं चन्द्राचार्यादिभि: पुन: ॥ (II—489)

on the arguments advanced by Bhartṛhari in their contributions. It is not too much to say the final shape that *advaita* took in the hands of great Śankara had all the germs of development in Vākyapadīya itself though he identifies *Brahman* with *Śabda* or with *Śabdabrahman.* If Śankara rejected seriously any of Bhartṛhari's thoughts it is only *sphōṭa* which practically took shape under the author under notice. But its rejection, common to the *Mimāṁsakas* also, was thus led by Jaimini, Vyāsa and a host of their *Bhāṣyakāras.* It is against such great odds that great Bhartṛhari had to maintain his theories. In this attempt even defeat was victory. But among Śankara's pioneers in *advaita* Maṇḍana Miśra and probably Brahmanandin owed their everything to Bhartṛhari. Maṇḍana actually recognised *sphōṭa* and his *Jñāna-karma-samuccaya* theory is only a modification of what Bhartṛhari all the while maintains. The evolution of Indian philosophy shall lose an important link if study and appreciation of Vākyapadīya is ignored.

The Question of his Time.

It has been asserted that by a number of scholars both in India and outside that Bhartṛhari has to be assigned to A.D. 600. The chief basis for the acceptance of this date is the statement of It-Sing that forty years before he entered India a Buddhistic author expired, who wrote a grammatical work extending over 25,000 ślōkas and commented upon *Cūrṇi Bhāṣya.* The Chinese translation of the name of the author perhaps suggested the identity with Bhartṛhari, whose work comprises of three *kaṇḍas* and can possibly extended over 25,000 But the identity seems to be highly questionable for the authors whom Bhartṛhari names are very few and none of them can be placed after the third century A.D. The latest authors mentioned by him were Patañjali and his predecessors Vyāḍi. Though some scholars maintain that Vindhyavāsin was called Rudrila who flourished about A.D. 250 we have in one of our *Gleanings* established the identity of Vyāḍi with Vindhyavasin on the strength of quotations with their authors' names furnished by Umbēka or Bhavabūti in his commentary on Kumārila's *Ślokavārtika,* Vyāḍi as synonym of Vindhyavāsin was given in ancient dictionaries, and the extracts quoted under either of the names are common to both. Of course supporters of this identity apprehend the fall of the date of Patañjali. Hari says that *Mahābhāṣya* was written when Vyadi's *sangraha* was in a state of perishing, which would take at least a hundred years after Vyāḍi. A close examination of Vākyapadīya, assigns the author to an age when different schools of *Mimāṁsa* were in their full swing and *advaita* was established on the merits of *Upanishidic* thoughts. If It-Sing had not come to our help, and Kumārila, Uṁbēka, Maṇḍana and Śankara had not quoted Bhartṛhari one would be even tempted to place him immediately after Śankara on account of his criticism of their schools. But

alas! it could not be so. Hari criticises or at least, fully anticipates *niyōga* or *kārya* theory of Prabhākara but by whom he is quoted. The truth is, that all the schools developed by Bhartṛprapanca and Pṛithvīthara (*Advaita*), Kumārila (*Vidhi*) and Maṇḍana (*Śabdabrahman*), Prabhākara (*Niyōgavādin*) and Śankara (*Jñānādvaita*), existed in more or less academical forms long before Bhartṛhari who championed the cause of the *Śabdhabrahma advaita*. Similarly the Buddhist theories of *Mādhyamika* schools assigned to Nāgārjuna and others deserve a review in the same light. The dates of Buddhistic authors based upon Chinese chronicles and translations certainly require re-examination especially as to the Chinese dates and the identification of Indian monks in China. I am inclined to place Vyāḍi, the *sanghrahakāra* in the pre-Christian centuries. Bhartṛhari cannot be dragged later than Vātsyāyana, Praśastapāda and Uddyōtakara though he is certainly later than Pañchaśikha, the author of *Śastitantra*, from which he quotes a passage in his *vṛtti*. It Sing's statement as interpreted by the identifiers of Bhartṛhari is a believer in Vēdas, follows closely and applies also the *nyāyas* (principles) of Mīmāṁsa and finally establishes *advaita*. Besides this, he frequently criticises adversely *Śūnyavāda*, and *Vijñanavāda* of the Buddhists. It is suggested by Dr. C. Kunhan Rāja, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras, that Harisvāmin mentioned by Mahēśvara in his *Nirukta Bhāṣya* might be the scholar mentioned by It-Sing. Bhartṛhari cannot be placed so late as 630 A.D. according to the identity proposed regarding It-Sing's story, for even Mahēśvara of 630 A.D. quotes from Bhartṛhari.

REVIEWS.

Pre-Musalman India. (In 9 Vols.)

Vol. I. Pre-Historic India.

By PROF. V. RANGACHARYA, M.A., L.T.

This Vol. I. is the first of a series of Nine Volumes in which the writer hopes to give the whole history of India up to the Moslem Conquest. It is well known that the author has been working hard for the past 10 years or more at the work and the first Volume has at last been published. It commences with the Azoic Epoch and traces the geological and geographical condition of India till the rise of Man.

The several theories about the origin of Man and his birth-place as well as the place of India in Eolithic cultural diffusion are next described. The Palaeolithic and Neolithic Ages with their characteristic features are next described, and an interesting and comparative account of Indian palaeolithic sites, drawings and paintings discovered here and there, is given. The history of Indian anthropological studies with an exhaustive bibliography will prove of special value to a student anthropology. From chapter VI especially, the history becomes more intelligible and interesting and useful even to an ordinary student. It is keenly regretted that several avoidable spelling and grammar mistakes have been left uncorrected. It is equally unfortunate that pictorial representations and photo-prints of the Neolithic habitation, dress, arts and crafts have not been included so as to illustrate life in Neolithic times. Chapters VIII and IX conclude the work and give an account of the Indus Valley Civilisation and the Aryans respectively, but it is regrettable that illustrations and maps which should invariably form part of the work are not given. These chapters should have been written in greater detail and precision. Some of the statements of the author as for instance, the Aryans were not physically very much different from the Dravidians, and they probably belonged to the same originally ethnic stock cannot be accepted as final. However, the book has to be welcomed and the author congratulated for the mass of interesting details given. The author is well known for his erudite scholarship and patient industry and the book clearly shows signs of the same. The public will be eagerly looking forward for the promised eight volumes. Meanwhile, we strongly recommend this useful book for all High school and College libraries and Research scholars.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER,

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL BODY MEETING HELD ON 19—4—1930.

Members Present :—

Messrs.

1 S. Bhimasankara Rao, B.A.
2 C. V. Hanumanta Rao M.A.
3 K. Venkatappayya, B.A., B.L.
4 V. Jagannadha Rao, M.A., L.T.
5 A. Suryanarayana, B.A., B.L.
6 D. Sriramamurti, B.A.
7 N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L.
8 R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T.
9 Rao Saheb, C. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, B.A., B.L.
10 G. Gangadhara Somayajulu, M.A., B.L.
11 D. Venkata Rao, M.A., L.T.
12 Chilukuri Yenkata Rao,
13 A. Sankara Rao, B.A., L.T.

Resolutions Passed.

I Resolved to adopt the Secretary's Report.
Proposed by Mr. A. Suryanarayana.
Seconded by Mr. D. Sriramamurti.

II Resolved to adopt the Treasurer's Statement of accounts.

III Resolved to elect the following *Office-bearers* for the year 1930-31.

1 Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L. *President.*
2 Mr. G. Gangadhara Somayajulu M.A., B.L. *Vice President.*
3 Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. *Secretary.*
4 Mr. N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L. *Treasurer.*
5 Mr. D. Venkata Rao, M.A., L.T. *Librarian.*

Members of the Council.

6 Mr. A. Sankara Rao, B.A., L.T.
7 Mr. D. Sriramamurty, B.A.
8 Mr. V. Jagannadha Rao, M.A., L.T.
9 Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L.

IV (a) Resolved that "the Society shall sue and be sued in the name of the *Secretary*, for the time being,"

(b) Resolved to number the above as Rule 41.

(Sd.) C. V. KRISHNASWAMI IYER,
Chairman.

19—4—30.

THE NINTH ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1929—1930.

Read and Adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Society held on 10—4—1930.

The Secretary read the following report:—

The Council of the Society have great pleasure in presenting you with the following report of the Society's work during the year.

At the last Annual meeting of the Society held on 7—4—29 the Vice-President Mr. S. Bhimasankara Rao presided in the absence of the President. After the adoption of the Secretary's Report and Treasurer's Accounts, certain amendments to rules were passed. *Rao Bahadur* D. LAKSHMINARAYA of KAMPTI, C.P. was elected as a *Patron*. The following Office-Bearers were next elected for 1929—30.

Messrs

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU, B.A. B.L., *President.*

P. BHADRAYYA, M.A., L.T., *Vice-President.*

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T., *Secretary.*

N. KAMESWARA RAO, B.A., B.L., *Treasurer.*

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, B.A., B.L., *Librarian.*

Members of the Council.

S. BHIMASANKARA RAO, B.A.

A. SANKARA RAO, B.A., L.T.

V. JAGANNATHA RAO, M.A., L.T.

A. SURYANARAYANA, B.A., B.L.

In the evening a public meeting was held in the HINDU SAMAJ HALL under the Chairmanship of Mr. P. Bhadrayya, M.A., L.T. *(Vice-President)* at which Messrs. A. Hanumachchastri, M. A., and R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T., read papers on *Vāsireḍḍīyaṁ* and the Madras Musuem Plates of Indravarma, respectively.

Members.

The number of *ordinary* members on 1—4—30 stood at 226 as compared with 193 on 1—4—29. The number of resident members rose from 59 to 62. The number of mofusil members also rose from 137 to 164. It is noteworthy that the Society got one *life member* in the Rajah of Dharakota and it is eagerly hoped that more would follow this example.

Subscribers,

As compared with the number of 26 subscribers *(Indian & Foreign)* on rolls on 1—4—29 there is at present the number 29. This increase in the number of both the members and subscribers shows the increasing popularity and usefulness of the Society.

Exchanges.

On 1—4—29 the list of exchanges stood at 67 while now it stands as high as 72 and this increase again shows that the work of the Society is widely appreciated.

Journal.

During the year, owing to unavoidable resignation of Mr. C. Atmaram, due to great pressure of professional work, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, B.A.,B.L., the former Editor of the Journal was elected to the place again. The Society had also to change its printing work from the Saraswati Printing Press where its *Journal* and *Kalinga Sanchika* were so far printed, to the Razan Press, Rajahmundry. Hence there was delay in the issue of the Journal. During the year therefore, Parts 2, 3 & 4 of Volume III were printed together, and Parts 1 & 2 of Volume IV. are also combined and printed and are about to be published. The *Journal* has continued to keep its high level of excellence. The Sanskrit drama *Kaumudī Mahōstsava* so ably edited by the learned scholar Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M.A., Hon. Member of the Society, in the pages of the *Journal*, has come to a close, and the Society, records its appreciation of his work. It is proposed that the same scholar may be requested to edit *LILĀVATI*, a Prākṛta *Kāvya*, in the ensuing Parts 3 & 4 of volume IV. This work relates to the political and so-cial conditions of the time of the 17th Andhra king Hāla Śālivāhana. Several copper-plate inscriptions relating to the history of the Kalingas have also been edited in the *Journal* by Mr. R. Subba Rao, and Śrī Lakshmīnārayan Harichandan Jagdev Bahadur, Raja of Tekkali. The Society's best thanks are due to the Editor and the Editorial Board as well as to the Contributors for improving the quality of the *Journal*.

Kalingadēśa Charitra.

By the time of the last Annual meeting, 42 formes (336 pages) of the work were printed and during the year 44 formes (352 pages) have been printed. Till now, in all 688 pages are printed. Earnest attempts are being made to expedite the issue of the work during the course of the year.

Meetings and other Activites.

During the year the Society held two meetings of the General Body, the first on 20—8—29 when a Sub-Committe to amend the rules was elected. Another meeting was held on 11—11—29 when amendments to *Rules* were passed. It was then resolved to enrol all those who pay a sum of Rs 2,000 or more as *Life-Patrons* and Rs 1000/ or more as *Life Vice-Patrons*. It was also resolved to elect Honorary Presidents, Honorary Vice-Presidents, and Honorary Correspondents for a period of *three years* at a time, subject to their re-election. It was also resolved that Office-Bearers who fail to attend *three* meetings consecutively should forfeit their places.

The Society held 12 meeting of the Council for the purpose of transacting the ordinary business of the Society, passing of Accounts, admitting new Exchanges and Members. The Society also arranged 6 public meetings, of which three were held in conjunction with the Town Hall for celebrating the centenary of Krishnadēvarāya, Śivāji, and Tikkana Sōmayāji; and three meetings were held at which Messrs. C. Narayan Rao, M.A.,L.T., R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T. and K. Venkatappaiah, B.A,,B L. read papers on (1) The newly Discovered Asokan Inscriptions (2) A Telugu Academy Plates of Madhavarman III and (3) Education in Ancient India, respectively.

During the year the Society deputed the Secretary, Mr. R. Subba-Rao, M A. to attended the *XII Session* of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Gwalior, on 21st and 22nd December 1929. The Government of India, at the same time, appointed him as a Co-opted Member of the Commission, for the Session besides appointing him as a Corresponding Member of the Commission. The Secretary interviewd at Gwalior, Sir FRANK NOYCE K. C S. I., I. C. S., Chief Secretary to the Government of India, who was pleased to recommend to the Director-General of Archaeology, the inclusion of the name of the Society in the list of Institutions to which the Archaeological Reports, Archaeological Memoirs, South Indian Inscriptions, Epigraphical Reports and other publications are supplied freely. The Secretary also interviewed *Rao Bahadur* D. LAKSMINARAYANA of Kampti, C. P. at Secunderabad, who was pleased to promise to send his donation of Rs. 2000/- to the Society at an early date. The Society also deputed Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle to attend the Sivaji Ter-Centenary Meeting, held at Poona. During the beginning of the year, the Secretary, along with Mr. C. Atmaram, B.A.,B.L., the then Editor of the *Journal*, interviewed several zamindars as a result of which Rs 1,728/ were collected as donations to the Society.

During August, 1929 the Secretary submitted a petition to the Government of Madras, for granting annual financial support in aid of the research work, of the Society, and the Government have been pleased to inform the Secretary in their G. O. No. Mis. 190 dated 10—2—1930, that they are unable to sanction the grant from the Provincial Funds, but requested the Director of Public Instruction to recommend Library Grant whenever the Society applies, as in the years 1928—29 and 1929—30. In January last, the District Collector informed the Society of the probability of H. E. The Governor of Madras, visiting its Rooms but unfortunately owing to His Excelllency's programme being over crowded, it could not take place. The needs of the Society were, however, placed before the Government.

Library and the Reading Room,

The Library continues to be located in the rented Rooms which are fast becoming congested. The Society is making attempts to have a better habitation for the Society. A peon on a salary of Rs 10. is still being maintained.

The Government gave a library grant of Rs. 100. with which one more almyrah and some books were purchased. The Society continues to get publications of eminent Scholars for review and of Institutions in exchange of the Journal.

During the year Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, who was originally elected as Librarian for the year resigned, having been elected as the Editor of the *Journal*, and in his place Mr. A. Suryanarayana was elected. But he too resigned in January 1930 owing to pressure of his professional work. Mr. C. Atmaram was then elected in his place. Thus owing to these resignations and frequent changes in the office, a catalogue for the Library could not be prepared and the work has greatly fallen into arrears. It is hoped the new Librarian in the coming year will set right the matters.

Museum.

During the year 25 gold coins collected by Mr. Srīpāda Gōpāla Krishnamūrty, B.A., were purchased for a sum of Rs. 15. These coins were discovered at Kalingapatam in the Vijagapatam District, and belong to the Eastern Gānga Dynasty of Kalinga. Two Copper-Plate grants have also been obtained temporarily, and there is a chance of their permanent acquisition. The Council requests all members and sympathisers to search for new copper plate and stone inscriptions, historical manuscripts, coins etc., so that there may be a well equipped Musuem.

Finance.

A detailed statement of the Society's financial position is given by the Treasurer. The Accounts were audited by Mr. D. Venkata Rao, M.A., L.T. to whom the Society offers its thanks. The Council earnestly requests all those members who are in arrears to pay up their dues early. The Council places on record its grateful thanks to all those gentlemen who sent in their donations for the publication of the *Kalingadēśa Charitra*, and to others who helped the Society with donations and gifts of books etc.

Conclusion.

The Council has great pleasure in placing on record its thankfulness to the several office-bearers who worked hard to improve the condition of the Society. It takes this opportunity to appeal to the several scholars who have not yet joined the Society to do so at an early date, and it requests its *Ordinary* members to convert their membership into *Life* membership. It also appeals to the several *Zamindars*, *Rajahs* and *Maharajahs* to give their support so as to place the Society on a more stable basis, so that still better work may be turned out by the Society.

NOTES OF THE TWO QUARTERS.

Proceedings of the Adjourned General Body Meeting of the First Quarter, held on 20—8—1929.

PRESENT

Messrs :

(1) T. Achyutarao *(in the chair).*
(2) C. Hanumantarao.
(3) R Subbarao.
(4) V. Jagannadharao.
(5) B. V. Krishnarao.
(6) A. Sankararao.
(7) K. T. Gopalrao.
(8) D. Venkatarao.

1. Resolved to confirm the amendment to *Rule 11* as *Rule 11(a)* viz. "The subscription is payable in advance at the beginning of the Official Year i.e., 1 April" passed as Resolution No. 4 in the General Body Meeting held on 7—4—29.

2. Resolved to alter the number of the *rule 3* as *rule 5* and of the *rule 5* as *rule 3.*

3. Resolved that the following gentlemen be elected as the Sub Committee to revise and amend the rules and report the same to the General Body.

(1) P. Bhadrayya.
(2) A. Sankara Rao.
(3) B. V. Krishna Rao.
(4) C. V. Hanumanta Rao.
(5) R. Subba Rao.

T. ACHYUTA RAO.
President.

Proceedings of the combined First and Second Quarterly General Body, (adjourned) Meeting. held on 11—11—1929.

PRESENT

Messers :

1, J- Ramayya Pantulu (*in the chair.*)
2. G. Gangadhara Somayajulu.
3. T. Achyutarao Pantulu.
4. N. Kameswara Rao.
5. K. J. Gopala Rao.
6. C. V. Hanumantha Rao.
7. A. Sankarao.
8. B. Kameswara Sastry.
9. B. V. Krishna Rao.
10. R. Subba Rao.

The following amendment of rules were proposed by the Secretary, Mr. R. Subba Rao and seconded by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and passed.

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

1 Resolved that the last sentence in Rule 4, i.e., "*the Council shall be elected annually*" be omitted.

2 Resolved to omit the words "*and who are unlikely to become ordinary members*" in Rule 8 (a).

3 Resolved to add the words "*while at Rajahmundry*" to Rule 14 (2) at the end.

4 Resolved to substitute "*elect*" for '*invite*' in Rule 15 in the first line.

5 Resolved to substitute the following Rules for Rule 15.

(1) The Council may elect as *Life-Patrons*, persons who make a donation of not less than Rs. 2000 (Two thousand) and as *Life Vice-Patrons*, persons who make a donation of not less than Rs. 1000 (one thousand) only.

(2) In the case of existing *Patrons* and *Vice-Patrons*, the donations already paid by them shall be taken into account.

(3) The Council may elect suitable persons as *Hon. Presidents*, *Hon. Vice-Presidents* and *Hon. Correspondents*. They will hold office

for three years, but will be eligible for re-election. This rule will have retrospective effect.

6. If any number of the Council or the Vice-President, absents himself from three consecutive meetings of the Council, he will cease to be a member of the Council or the Vice-President of the Society. The Council then, may elect suitable persons in their vacancies.

7. Resolved to substitute '*one fourth*' for '*one third*' in line 2 of Rule 32.

8. Resolved to omit Rule 40.

9. Resolved to omit Rule 41.

10. Resolved to omit the word '*carnival*' in the heading above Rule 44.

11. Resolved to omit the words '*historical carnival of a great* and "*or of persons*" in Rule 44 (a).

12. Resolved to substitute "*from time to time*" for the word "*annually*" in line 1, and also omit the words "*annual*" and "*festival*" in line 3 and the last sentence, in Rule 45.

13. Resolved to read Rule 49 as Rule 13 and renumber the rules accordingly.

J. RAMAYYA,

President.

Treasurer's Statement.

SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID DURING THE QUARTER ENDING WITH 30—9—28.

Names. Messrs.	Rs.	A.
Narasimha Iyengar S. (27—28)	3	0
Thompson, M. S. H. (26—28)	3	2
Sivarama Sarma, B.	5	0
Suryanarayana; A.	4	0
Raghavachari, N. (26—28)	6	2
Someswararao, Karra ,,	6	2
Gopala Krishna Sarma, R. (26—28)	6	2
Pitchayya, V. (27—28)	3	2
Satyanarayana, G. ,,	3	2
Raghavachari, K. ,,	3	2
Veeraraghavachari, S. E. V. (27—28)	3	2
Rangachari, K. ,,	3	2
Ramakoteswara Rao, K. (27—28)	3	0
Somayajulu, C. ,,	3	0
Venkataramanaiah, I. ,,	3	0
Subba Rao, Rallabandi	4	0
Subba Rao Pantulu N.	4	0
Kameswasara Rao N.	4	0
Rama Rao, M. (26—28)	6	0
Kameswara Sastri, Bh.	4	0
Rama Rao, A.	4	0
Purnaiah Pantulu, Vepa	4	0
Gnanaprakasam, P. (27—29)	2	0

Names. Messrs.	Rs.	A
Venkatesam, N. K.	4	4
Srinivasa Raghavachari M. K.	2	0
Rajaratnam, K.	4	0
Achuta Rao, T. (27—28)	1	0
Satyanarayana B. V. N. ,,	4	0
Venkataramaiah, N.	4	0
Sambasiva Rao, M.	4	0
Graeffe J. E. Rev.	4	0
Seetaramarao, K.	2	0
Suryanarayana Rao, K.	4	0
Suryanarayana Ch.	4	0
Sivarama Ross, D. (27—28)	3	0
Anantagirirao, M,	3	0
Sriramamurti, D.	4	0
Bhadrayya, P. (28—28)	2	0
Krishnamachari, M. ,,	3	0
Dharma Rao, G. ,,	3	0
Narasimha Sastry, S. N. ,,	3	8
Hanumachchastry, A. ,,	3	0
Rajaguru Hemraj (26—20)	10	0
Brahmanandamurti C (27—28)	4	0
Apparao, Vaddadi ,,	2	0
Parameswara Rao, Y. ,,	2	0
Total	176	10

SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID DURING THE QUARTER ENDING WITH 30—9—28.

Names	Rs	A
Watson Museum, Raj kot	6	0
Arthur Probsthain 2 sets	26	12
Vicharnakartha Tirumalai Devasthanam, Tirupati Vols. 1 & 2,	12	12
Total	45	8

DONATIONS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING WITH 30—9—28.

Names,	Rs	A
C. R. Reddy Esq.,	10	0
Sir A. P. Patro	250	0
Total	260	0

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTRR ENDING WITH 31—12—28

Names. Messrs.		Rs	A
Mallikarjuna Rao, P.		4	0
Popley, H. A. Rev.		3	0
Sarma M. S.	(27—28)	3	0
Suryanarayanamurti, T.		3	0
Narayana Rao, C.	(27 -29)	5	0
Dhanaraju, T.	(27—28)	2	0

Namee Messrs.		Rs	A
Sitaramarao, K.		2	0
Sankararao, A.		4	0
S. Hassan Khan	(26—28)	6	2
Total		32	2

SUBSCRIBERS TO JOURNAL WHO PAID DURING THE QUARTER ENDING WITH 31—12—28

Names	Rs	A
Madras University Library	6	0
P. R. College Coconada	6	0
Andhra Xian College	6	0
Noble College Masulipatam	6	0
Vicharanakarta. Tirumalai Devasthanam	6	0
Supt. of Archaeology. Eastern Circle	6	0
Imperial Library Calcutta	6	0
Secretariat Library, Fort, St. George	6	0

Names	Rs	A
Govt Sanskrit College Benares	6	0
Stall Training College for Ministers, Guntur	6	0
Andhra University	6	0
Commissioner Ajmere-Merwara	6	0
Total	72	0

LIST OF MEMBERS WHO PAID SUBSCRIPTIONS DURING THE QUARTER ENDING WITH 31—3—29.

Names. Messrs.	Rs.	A.
Gopala Krishniah V.	3	0
Fernandez Theophilus (26-28)	6	2

Names. Messrs.	Rs.	A.
Rangachary R.	3	2
Hume Sastry B.	3	2

Messrs.	Rs.	A.
Lochan Prasad Pāṇḍeya ,,	6	2
Venkateswarlu V.	3	2
Krishna Rao Nalam	4	0
Somayazulu G. G.	4	0
Dunkelberger R. M.	4	0
Krishnaswami Iyer S.	4	0
Werner O. V. Rev.	4	0
Sambasiva Rao C.	3	2
Sayed Khursheed Ali	3	2
Joganna U.	3	2
Jagannadhaswamy G.	3	2
Somayajulu Ch. Y.	3	2
Venkatramayya D.	3	2
Satyanarayana V.	3	2
Sri Vikramadeva Varma	3	2
Prakasarao D. V. S.	3	2
Raghavarao G. V:	3	2
Raghavachary K.	3	2
Ramakrishnasastry B.	3	2
Jogayya V. V.	3	2
Viraraghachary S. E. V.	3	2
Seshagirirao R.	3	2
Atchyutarao T.	3	2
Govindarajulu Ch,	3	2
Ramarao M.	3	2
Narasimharao S.	3	2
Sriramasastri D.	3	2
Apparao D.	3	2
Subbarao L.	3	2
Krishnarao Bhonsle R.	3	2
Anantarama Iyer Bh.	3	2
Apparao Vissa	3	2
Gopalam P. V. S.	3	2
Ramalingam W. V. B.	3	2
Subbarayudu M.	3	2
Seshagirirao B.	3	2
Ganapatirao D.	3	2
Ramamurty Y.	3	2
Rao P. S., I.C.S.	3	2
Viranna P.	3	2
Sarma B. N. Sir.	9	2
Seshadri P.	3	2
Sriram V.	3	2

Messrs.	Rs.	A.
Dubrieul G. J.	3	2
Bhujangarao T.	3	2
Ramakrishnayya K,	3	2
Perisastri S.	3	2
Heras Henry Rev. S. J.	3	2
Ramachandrarao B.	3	2
Venkataramayya M.	3	2
Narasimham D. L.	3	2
Satyanarayana G.	3	2
Abdul Ali A. F. M.	3	2
Eswar Dutt K.	3	2
Venkatanarayana T.	3	2
Satyanarayana Rajaguru	3	2
Narasingarao G.	3	2
Krishnaswamirao C.	3	2
Raghavachary N.	3	2
Rangareddi N.	3	2
Bhanadarkar D. R.	3	2
Sri G. H. Jagadeb, Bahadur	3	2
Sri L. H. Jagabeb, Bahadur	3	2
Hanumantarao S.	3	2
Hassankhan Siddique	3	2
Prof. Radha Krishnan S.	3	2
Gopalakrishna Sarma R.	3	2
Ramachandrarao R.	3	2
Bhagavatam Gupta T.	3	2
Purushottam S.	2	3
Narasimulu M.	3	2
Lakshmanarao K.	3	2
Hirdenarayan	3	2
Venkataramaraju R.	3	2
Subbarao N. V.	3	2
Ramadas G.	3	2
Sivasankarasastri T.	3	2
Ramamurty K.	3	2
Dr. Kalidas Nag	3	2
Gangooli T.	3	2
Subrahmanyam K. R.	3	2
Sambasivarao D.	3	2
Gopalarao K. J.	4	0
Pandit Neelakantadas	3	0
Akramali Mir	2	0
Vajhalu R.	2	2

Messrs.	Rs.	A.	Messrs.	Rs.	A.
Seshagirirao A.	3	2	Venkatachalam C. D. B.	4	0
Vedananda Tirtha	3	2	Lochan Prasad Pandeya	4	0
Narayanasastri C. L.	3	2	Subbayya P.	4	0
Suryaprakasarao C.	3	0	Dubrieul G. J	1	2
Atmaram C.	4	0	Bhadrayya P.	4	0
Thompson M. S. H.	4	0	Nissanka Bahadur R. R.	3	0
Sambasivarao S. V.	3	2	Srinivasachary M. K.	1	0
Lakshminarayana Sastry Bh.	3	2	Seetapati G. V.	3	0
Somasundara Desikar S.	3	2	Ramamurty Pantulu G.	3	0
Kameswararao Sripada	3	2			
Jagannadharao N.	3	2	Total	367	4
Brierley W. B.	4	0			
Gnanaprakasam P.	4	0			

SUBSCRIBERS WHO PAID DURING THE QUARTER ENDING WITH 31—3—29.

Names.			Names.		
Presidency College, Madras	6	0	G. A. College, Rajahmundry	6	0
Provincial Museum, Lucknow	6	2	Mhahrajah of Pithapuram	6	0
Literary Assn. Cocanada	6	0	Arthur Probsthain	13	4
Adyar Library	15	0			
Decca University	6	0	Total	70	6
G. T. College, Rajahmundry	6	0			

DONATIONS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING WITH 31—3—29.

Names. Messrs.	Rs.	A.	Names. Messrs.	Rs.	A.
Chinnababu Naidu B.	50	0	Govt. grant for the Library.	250	0
Srinivasa Jagannadha Rao Bahadur K.	116	0	Total	466	0
Suryanarayana Konduri	50	0			

SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID DURING THE QUARTER ENDING WITH 30—6—29.

Names. Messrs.	Rs.	A	Names. Messrs.	Rs.	A.
Satyanarayana Bh.	3	0	Jagannadharaju U. S.	3	0
Subramanyam M.	4	0	Satyanarayana B. V. N.	4	0
Bhimasankara Rao S.	4	0	Gopala Reddy B.	3	0
Venkata Rao Ch.	5	0	Nagaraju Ch.	4	0
Vajhalu R.	2	0	Subba Rao Pantulu N.	4	0
Kameswara Rao, D. Ch.	4	0	Kameswara Rao N.	4	0
Subba Rao R.	4	0	Subba Rao Rallabandi	4	0
Hanumachhastry A.	2	0	Krishnamurty D. B.	3	4

Subrahmanya Iyer K. V. (26-29)	9	12	Nagaraju Ch.	4	0
Jagannadha Rao V.	2	0	Jagannadhaswami P.	3	4
Subba Rao V.	4	0	Total	82	4
Dhanaraju T.	2	0			

DONATIONS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING WITH 30—6—29.

Names, Messrs.	Rs.	A.	*Names.* Messrs.	Rs.	A.
Zamindar Doddampet	50	0	Raja of Gopalpur	100	0
Kameswara Rao N.	50	0	Raja Kallikota	100	0
Seshagiri Rao, Jupudi.	50	0	Raja of Parlakimidi	350	0
Raja of Chikati	150	0			
Raja of Mandasa	150	0	Total	1060	0
Zamindar Devadi	50	0			
Raja of Tekkali	10	0			

SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID DURING THE QUARTER ENDING WITH 30—9—29.

Names. Messrs.	Rs.	A.	*Names.* Messrs,	Rs.	A.
Brown, J. B. I.C.S. 28—30	6	0	Ganganna, J. 28—29	4	0
Krishna Rao, B. V.. 28—29	4	0	Sitapati, G. V.	3	0
Venkata Rao, D. ,,	3	0	Rama Murthi Pantulu, G.	3	0
Srinivasachari, M. K. ,,	1	0	Kameswara Rao, Somina	2	0
Raja of Dharakota (life)	60	0	Vajhalu, R.	2	0
R. Swaraswathi, A. 27—29	6	0	Appa Rao, Vaddadi 27—28	2	0
			Miss Krishna Bai, R.S.	4	0
Venkataramanayya, I. 28-30	5	0	Venkata Ratnam, T. 28—29	3	0
Veerabhadeswara Rao, K. (28—29)	3	0	Avadhani V. V. S. ,,	3	8
			Goedeke, H. Rev. ,,	3	0
Ramayya Pantulu, J.	3	0	Jagannatha Rao, K. V.	4	0
Jagannadha Rao, V.	2	0			
Subba Rao, R.	4	0	Total	130	8

SUBSCRIPTIONS WHO PAID DURING THE QUARTER ENDING WITH 30—9—2.

Arthus Probsthain	15	4
Presidency College, Calcutta	6	0
Total	21	4

DONATIONS RECEIVED DURING THE QUARTER ENDING WITH 30—9—29.

Names. Messrs.	Rs.	A.	*Names.* Messrs.	Rs.	A.
Krishna Rao, B. V.	2	0	Raja Sahib of Devadi	50	0
The Raja Sahibs of Tekkali	50	0			
			Total	102	0

TREASURER'S STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS & EXPENDITURE.
(FROM 1—4—30 TO 31—3—30)

RECEIPTS.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Last year's balance ...	148	13	10
Subscriptions from members and subscribers to Journal ...	440	7	0
Donations ...	1,728	0	0
Government Grant ...	100	0	0
By sale of Journals ...	65	13	0
Sale of Sanchikas ...	32	0	0
Miscellaneous receipts.	24	0	0
Advance. by Treasurer.	130	0	0
Interest on S.B. Account.	0	7	1
Total...	2,669	8	11

EXPENDITURE.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Postage ...	85	13	6
Travelling expenses ...	99	2	0
Printing, including paper...	1.253	15	3
Cost of Blocks and Photos...	355	9	0
Furniture ...	8	4	9
Purchase of books ...	68	15	0
Binding of books ...	114	2	0
Miscellaneous charges.	14	2	0
Stationery ...	10	12	0
Peon's pay ...	112	4	0
Permanent advances to Secretary and Editor for postage ...	35	11	7
Balance in S. B. Account ...	200	7	1
Returned to Treasurer.	130	0	0
Balance on hand ...	180	6	9
Total ...	2,669	8	11

NOTE :—6 copies of Rajaraja Pattabhisheka Sanchika have been sold during the year and money was realised for 1 copy sold year before last. The price of 1 copy sold during the year has to be realised. 8 copies have been given in exchange or as complimentary. The number of copies on hand on 31-3-30 is 124 only.

Owing to the delay in publication of Volume IV of the Journal subscriptions could not be realised from many resident and non-resident members. So there is a sum of roughly Rs. 700 to Rs. 800 outstanding on this account besides Rs. 8 as donation. Nothing is collected during the year on account of donations promised on Kalinga day and Rs. 260 is still due thereunder. But the Society was able to meet its liabilities by

the munificent donations received during the year. The Society has yet to return Rs. 200 advanced by the Treasurer during the previous year.

Donations received during the year 1929—30.

Rajah of Parlakimidi	... ... Rs,	350
Raja of Bobbili	... ...	500
Rajah of Chikati	... ...	150
Rajah of Mandasa	... ...	150
Mr. W. V. B. Ramalingam	... ...	116
Rajah of Devadi	... ...	100
Rajah of Kallikota (Besides Rs. 300 already given).		100
Rajah of Gopalpore	... ...	100
Sir A. P. Patro (Besides Rs. 500 already given)		100
Rajah of Tekkali	... ...	60
Zamindar of Doddampeta	... ...	50
Mr. Jupudi Seshagiri Rao	... ...	50
,, N. Kameswara Rao	... ...	50
,, Nalam Ramalingiah	... ...	50
,, B. V. Krishna Rao	... ...	2
	Total	1,728

N. KAMESWARA RAO,
Treasurer.

Members who paid their Subscriptions during the quarter ending with 31—12—29.

Messrs.

		RS.	AS.	P.
Kameswara Rao Sripada.		4	0	0
Thompson M. S. H.		4	0	0
Kameswara Rao Somina		2	0	0
Ramaswami Iyengar M. S.		3	4	0
Venkatapati Raju Nadimpalli.	(26—30)	12	0	0
Gnanaprakasam P.		4	0	0
Bhogayappa Sastri V.		4	0	0
Gopalam P. V. S.		3	0	0
Hanumantacharya K.	(26—30).	12	2	0
Narayana Rao B. L.	(,,)	12	0	0
Gopala Rao D. B.		3	0	0
Nageswara Rao Gadi		3	0	0
Brahmanandamurti C.		4	0	0
	Total	70	6	0

Subscribers who paid during the quarter.

The Adyar Library.	6	0	0
The Noble College, Masulipatam.	6	0	0
Superintendent, Archl. Survey, Eastern Circle.	6	0	0
University Library, Madras.	6	0	0
Andhra University.	6	0	0
Stall Training School for Mistresses Guntur.	6	0	0
Imperial Library, Calcutta.	6	0	0
Commissioner, Ajmere Merwara.	6	0	0
Vicharanakarta, Tirupati Devasthanam.	6	0	0
Dacca University.	6	0	0
Watson Museum, Rajkot.	6	0	0
Government Sanskrit College, Benares.	6	0	0
Total	72	0	0

Donations received during the quarter.

Raja of Bobbili.	300	0	0
Sir A. P. Patro.	100	0	0
Mr. Nalam Ramalingiah.	50	0	0
Total	450	0	0

Members who paid their Subscriptions during the quarter ending with 31—3—30.

Krishnaswami Iyer C. V.	4	0	0
Bapiraju Adivi.	3	0	0
Datta Waman Potdar.	3	4	0
Total	10	4	0

Subscribers who paid during the quarter.

Secretariat Library, Fort St. George.	6	0	0
C. D. College, Anantapur (vols. 3 & 4)	12	0	0
Presidency College, Madras.	6	0	0
Presidency College, Calcutta.	6	0	0
Maharajah of Pithapuram.	6	0	0
Indian Museum, (Archl. Section) Calcutta.	6	0	0
Total	42	0	0

Donations received during the quarter.

Mr. W. V. B. Ramalingam.	116	0	0
Government Grant.	100	0	0
Total	216	0	0

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

Serial Nnmber	NAME OF MEMBER.		Date of Election.
1	Abdul Ali, A. F. M,M.A.	...	15-12-28
2	Akram ali Mir, B.A., B.L.	...	30-11-27
3	Anantahachari M.V.R.	...	24-11-29
4	Anantarama Iyer P.H., M.A.	...	27-10-26
5	Appalarama Mūrty J., B.A.	...	4-07-29
6	Appa Rao D, Bar-at-law	...	2-12-26
7	Appa Rao Vissa, M.A., L.T.	...	14- 2-26
8	Appa Rao Vaddadi B.A., B.L.	...	19- 5-26
9	Achyuta Rao T., M.A., L.T.	...	14- 2-26
10	Atmaram C., B.A., B.L.	...	14- 2-26
11	Avadhani V.V.S., B.A., B.L.	...	19- 9-29
12	Bapiraju Adivi, B.A., B.L.	...	9- 5-26
13	Benze, Rev. W.T.	...	9- 5-26
14	Bhadrayya L. V., B.A.	...	13-11.27
15	Bhadrayya P,, M.A.,L.T.	...	30- 4-27
16	Bhagavantam Gupta T., B.A., B.L.	...	27- 1-26
17	Bhandarkar D.R,, M.A.	...	10-12-26
18	Bhīmasankara Kao S. B.A.	...	14- 2-26
19	Bheemasena Rao C, B.A., L.T.,	...	23- 2-27
20	Bhogayappa Sastri V.	...	24-11-29
21	Bhujanga Rao T., M.A., B.L.	...	6- 1-27
22	Brahmananda Murti C., B.A., B.L.	...	31- 3-27
23	Brierley W.B., I.E.S.	...	10-12-26
24	Brown J.B,, I.C.S.	...	28- 7-29
25	Datta Waman Potdar	...	10- 1-30
26	Dhanaraju T., B.A., B.L.	...	31- 3-27
27	Dharma Rao G. M,A.	...	23- 2-27
28	Dubrieul G. J.	...	31- 3-24
29	Dharakota, Raja Saheb of	...	28- 7-29
30	Dunkelberger R.M. Rev.. M.A., STA.	..	12- 3-29
31	Eswar Dutt K. B.A.,	...	9- 5-26
32	Ganganna J., B.A., L.T.	...	...
33	Gangooly T.	...	23- 1-28
34	Goedke Harry Rev,	...	7-10-29
35	Gopala Rao D.B,, B.A.	...	24-11-29
36	Gopala Reddı B.	...	31- 5-29
37	Gauripati Rao, I. B.A., L.T.	...	9- 5-26
38	Gyanaprakasam P.	...	30-11-27
39	Gopalakrishna Sarma, R.	...	4- 6-28
40	Gopalakrishnayya V.	...	18-10-17
41	Gopalam P.V.S.	...	1- 4-28
42	Gopala Rao, Sree K. J.	...	12- 3-29
43	Goviudarajulu Ch. B.A.	...	18-10-27
44	Graeffe J. E. Rev.	...	13-11-27
45	Hanumanta Rao S., M.A.	...	9- 5-26
46	Hanumanta Rao C. H, M.A.	...	9- 5-26
47	Hanumantacharrya K., B.A.	...	7-10-29
48	Hanumatchastri A., M.A.	...	13-11-27
49	Herras Henry S.J. M.A.	...	10-12-26
50	Hume Sastri B., B.A., B.L.	...	7- 7-27

DURING THE YEAR 1929—1930.

Profession and Address.

Keeper, Govt. of India Records. 3, Turner St. Calcutta.
Vakil, Rajahmundry.
Inamdar, Gutala.
Lecturer, P, R. College Cocanada.
Rural Reconstruction Supervisor, Achanta.
Deputy, Registrar High Court, Mylapur, Madras.
Lecturer, Presidency College, Madras.
Vakil, Rajahmundry.
Head Master, Higher Elementary Training School Rajahmundry.
Vakil, Rajahmundry.
Retired Sub Judge, Masulipatam.
Vakil, Bhimavaram,
Missionary, Yeleswaram.
Pleader, Ellore.
Chief Lecturer in History, Govt. Arts College, Rajahmundry
61 Narayana Mudali St. G. T. Madras.
Ballygunge, Circular Road, Calcutta.
Pleader, Rajahmundry.
Teacher, P. R. College. Cocanada.
Retired Dy. Collector, Repalle.
District Judge, Berhampore.
Vakil, Rajahmundry.
District Educational Officer, Bellary,
Collector, East Godavari Dt., Cocanada.
180, Shenwarpett, Poona.
Vakil. Rajahmundry.
Lecturer, Kallikota College, Berhampore.
Professor, Pondicherry,
Dharakota, Ganjam.
Missionary, Rajahmundry.
L. F. Auditor, Cocanada.
Head Master V. H. School, Rajahmundry.
35 · Amherst St., Calcutta.
Missionary, Rentachintala.
Triplicane, Madras.
Buchireddipalem, Nellore Dt.
Head Master Rajah's High School, Tuni.
Secretary, A. E. L. M. Reading Room, Rajahmundry.
Taluk Sheristadar, Hindupur.
Inamdār Sattenapalli
Amalapur.
Student, Arts College, Rajahmundry.
Rev. Inspector, Nellore.
Missionary, Rajahmundry.
Professor Osmania College, Hyderabad.
Teacher, Board High School, Samalkota
Vidwan, 622, Residency Bazar, Hyderabad.
Tirupati.
St. Xaviers College, Bombay.
Vakil, Vizagapatam.

51	Jaganatha Rao, N. B.A.	...	21- 7-25
52	Jaganatha Rao, K. V. Sri.	...	4- 7-29
53	Jaganatha Rao, V. M.A., L.T.	...	30-11-27
54	Jaganathaswami, P. M.A., L.T.	...	31- 5-29
55	Jaganathaswami, G. M.A. L.T.	...	...
56	Joganna, U. B.A., M.L.	...	27-10-26
57	Jogayya Pantulu, V. V. B.A.	...	17- 5-27
58	Jogi Jaganatharaju, U. S. Sree	...	31- 5-29
59	Kameswararao, N. B.A., B.L.	...	9- 5-26
60	Kameswararao, S. B.A., B.L.	...	10-12-26
61	Kameswararao, S. M.A., L.T.	...	27- 1-25
62	Kameswararao, D. Ch.	...	5- 9-26
63	Kameswara Sastri, Bh.	...	14-11-25
64	Kalidas Nag, M.A. D. LITT.	...	13-11-27
65	Krishna Bai, R.S. B.A., L.T.	...	,,
66	Krishnarao, Nalam	...	30-11-27
67	Krishnarao Bhonsle, R.	...	27-10-26
68	Krishnamurti, M B.A., L.T.	...	19- 9-29
69	Krishnamurty, D. B. M.A., B.L.	...	31- 5-29
70	Krishnaswamirao, C. B.A.	...	30-11-26
71	Krishnaswami Iyer S. M.A.	...	15-12-28
72	Krishnamachari, M. M.A., M.L.	...	27- 1-26
73	Khurshed Ali Syed	...	15-12-28
74	Lakshmanrao, K. B.C.E.	...	30-11-24
75	Lakshminarayana Sastri, Bh. M.A., L.T.	...	14-12-26
76	Lakshminarayana Sastri, C. B.A., B.L.	...	12- 3-28
77	Lakshminarayanarao, B.	...	24-11-29
78	Lochan Prasad Pandeya	...	15-12-28
79	Makoday Govind Balawant.	...	10- 1-30
80	Mallikarjunarao P.	...	7- 7-27
81	Nagabhushanam, S. B.A., L.T.	...	9- 5-26
82	Nagaraju Ch. B.A.	...	31- 5-29
83	Narayan Hirde. M.A.	...	15-12-28
84	Narsimham D. L. M,A., L.T.	...	...
85	Narasimha Iyengar S. M.A., L:T,	...	27-10-26
86	Narsimharao. S. B.A., L.L.B.	...	9- 5-25
87	Narasimulu Manda.	...	10-12-26
88	Narayanarao, C. M.A., L.T.	...	...
89	Nageswararao Gadi.	..	24-11-29
90	Narasingarao Gadi. B.A., L.T.	...	30- 4-27
91	Narasingarao, V. B.A.	. .	1- 4-28
92	Neelakanta Das. Pandit. M.A.	...	25- 9-27
93	Neudoerfer A. F. A. M.A.	...	14- 2-26
94	Peri Sastri, S. B.A., L.T.	...	19- 3-25
95	Pitchayya, V. B.A.	...	6- 1-27
96	Popley H. A. Rev. B.A.	...	14- 9-28
97	Prakasarao D. V, S. B.A.	...	27-10-25
98	Purnayya Pantulu V. B.A., B.L.	...	30- 4-27
99	Purushottam S. M.A.	...	12- 3-28
100	Radhakrishnan S. M.A.	...	23- 1-28
101	Raghavachary K. M.A., B.L.	...	4- 6-28
102	Raghava Iyengar S. V.	...	24-11-29
103	Raghavachary N. M.A., L.T.	...	24- 6-28
104	Raghavarao, G. V. B.A.	...	30 11-24

Pleader, Narasarowpett,
Zamindar Polavaram, Rajahmundry,
Lecturer, Training College, Rajahmundry.
Principal, Rajah's College, Parlakimidi.
Head Master, P. R. College, Cocanada.
Vakil, Cocanada.
Pleader, Berhampore.
Zamindar, Gopalpore, Vijayanagaram.
Advocate, Rajahmundry.
Do.
Lacturer, Training College, Rajahmundry.
Inamdar, Rajahmundry.
Pandit, Rajahmundry.
University Professor, Calcutta.
Teacher, Government Girls School, Rajahmundry.
Merchant, Rajahmundry.
Secretary, Government Examinations, Madras,
Deputy Inspector of Schools, Rajahmundry.
District Munsiff. Sompeta.
Seeta Park, Basavangudi.
Lecturer, Training College, Rajahmundry.
District Munsiff, Chingelput.
Director, Dafter Diwani Mall Hyderabad, Deccan.
Supervisor, D.P.W. Ammapet, Tanjore District.
Deputy Inspector of Schools, Ramachandrapur.
Advocate, Vizagapatam.
Shrotriemdar, Bapatla.
Kavyavinoda, Malguzar, P.O. Chandrapore, Bilaspur, C.P.
Gwalior.
Rajahmundry.
Deputy Inspector of Schools, Sattenapalli.
Proprietor, Razan Press, Rajahmundry.
Professor, Morris College, Nagpur.
Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.
Do.
Deputy Collector, Bellary.
Inamdar, Arasaville via Chicacole.
Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.
Teacher. B. H. S. Nidadavol.
Teacher, Rajah's College, Parlakimidi.
Teacher, H. S. Pithapuram.
Sachigopal near Cuttak.
Missionary, Tallapudi.
Deputy Inspector of Schools, Bhimavaram.
Pleader, Cuddapah.
5 Russel St. Calcutta.
Cocanada.
Sub Judge. Rajahmundry.
Lecturer, Maharajah's College, Vijayanagaram.
Professor, University, Calcutta.
Vakil, Cocanada.
Teacher, Hanumanlupett. Bezwada.
Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur.
Pleader, Yelamanchali,

105	Rajaguru Hemraj Pandit.	...	14- 9-28
106	Rajarajeswara Nissanka Bahadur.	...	12- 3.28
107	Rajaratnam, K. B.A.	...	10-12-26
108	Ramachandrarao, B. M.A., L.T.	...	25- 9-27
109	Ramachandrarao, D. B.A.	...	5- 9- 26
110	Ramachendrarao R. S. M.A., L.T.	...	9- 5- 26
111	Ramakrishnasastri, B. B.A.	...	12- 3-28
112	Ramakristayya, K. M.A.	...	30-11-24
113	Ramalingam, B.	...	30-11.27
114	Ramalingam, W. V. B. B.A., L.T.	...	17- 5-27
115	Ramamurti, G. Raosahib, B.A.	...	...
116	Ramamurti, K.	...	27-10-26
117	Ramamurti, Y. M.A., L.T.	...	17- 5-27
118	Ramanamurti R. V. M.A., B.L.	...	Do.
119	Ramiah Pantulu, J. B.A., B.L.	...	...
120	Ramaswami Iyengar, M. S. M.A., L.T.	...	15-12-28
121	Ramaswami Iyer, L. V. M.A.	...	7-10-29
122	Ramaswami Sastri K. S. B.A., B.L.	...	10- 1-30
123	Ramarao; A. Raosahib, B.A., B.L.	...	5- 9-26
124	Ramarao, K. M.A., L.T.	...	19- 9-29
125	Ramarao M. M.A.	...	4- 6- 28
126	Ramadas, G. B.A.	...	30-11-24
127	Rangachari, K. M.A.	...	,,
128	Rangachari, N. M.A. L.T.	...	27- 1-25
129	Rangachari V. M.A.	...	Do.
130	Rangareddi, N. B.A., B.L.	...	6- 1-27
131	Rangaswami Saraswati A.	...	28- 7-29
132	Rao, P. S. M.A., I.C.S.	...	2- 12-26
133	Sambasivarao, C. Bar-at-Law.	...	7- 7-27
134	Sambasivarao, D.	...	9- 5-26
135	Sambasivarao, M.	...	30- 4-27
136	Sambasivarao, S. V. B.A., L.T.	...	17- 5-27
137	Sankararao, A. B.A., L.T.	...	30-11-24
138	Satyanarayana, B. V. N. B.A.	...	31- 8-27
139	Satyanarayana V. B.A.	...	15-12-28
140	Satyanarayanamurty, K. M.A.	...	28- 7-29
141	Satyanarayana, G. B.A	...	8- 7-28
142	Satyanarayana, Raja Guru	...	23- 2-28
143	Satyanarayanarao, P. B.A., M.L.	...	2-12-26
144	Seshagirirao, Addanki. M.A., L.T.	...	31- 7-28
145	Seshagirirao B. M.A.	...	30- 4-27
146	Seshagirirao, P. B.A.	...	,,
147	Seshagirirao R.	...	7- 7-27
148	Seshadri P. M.A.	...	18-10-27
149	Seetapati G. B.A. L.T.	...	...
150	Seetaramarao K. M.A.	...	5- 9-26
151	Setlur, S. S. B.A., L.L.B.	...	9- 5-26
152	Siddiq Hasan Khan, B.A.	...	15-12-28
153	Sivarama Ross, D. V. B.A., B.L.	...	14- 9-28
154	Sivaramasarma B.	...	
155	Sivasankarasastri T.	...	9- 5-26
156	Sitaramiah Ch.	...	10- 1-30
157	Sitaramiah G. B.A., B.L.	...	17- 5-27
158	Somasekharasarma, M.	...	

Dhakatole, Nepal.
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